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THE
NAVAL AND MILITARY
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
WARS OF ENGLAND;
INCLUDING,
The WARS of SCOTLAND and IRELAND.

IN WHICH IS GIVEN,

An accurate and lively Description of the SIEGES, BATTLES, BOMBARDMENTS, SEA-ENGAGEMENTS, EXPEDITIONS, and extensive CONQUESTS, of the BRITISH ARMS, in all Quarters of the Globe.

WITH A VARIETY OF

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V O L. IV.

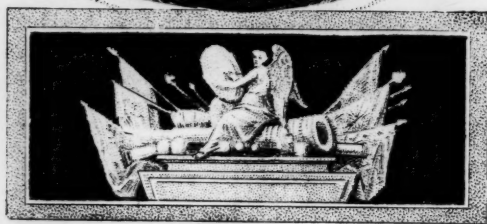
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QUEEN ANNE.

Published at the Art directors, July 1796

T H E
NAVAL AND MILITARY
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
WARS OF ENGLAND.

WARS OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF
QUEEN ANNE.

ON the death of William, the Princess Anne, who had married George Prince of Denmark, succeeded to the crown, in consequence of the act of succession passed in the year 1689, being the eldest surviving daughter of James II. She was then in the thirty-eighth year of her age, and assumed the reins of government to the general satisfaction of all parties.

William had died at the eve of a war with France ; and the present queen, who generally took the advice of her ministry on every important occasion, was now urged by opposite counsels: a part of her ministry being inclined to war and another to peace. At the head of those who opposed a war with France was the Earl of Rochester, lord lieutenant of Ireland, first cousin to the queen, and the chief of the tory faction. At the head of the opposite party was the Earl afterwards Duke of Marlborough, and since so much renowned for his victories over the French. After giving the reasons for both their opinions, that of Marlborough

preponderated : the queen resolved to declare war ; and communicating her intentions to the house of commons, by whom it was approved, war was proclaimed accordingly. In this declaration of war, Louis was taxed with having taken possession of a great part of the Spanish dominions ; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe, to obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce ; and with having offered an unpardonable insult to the queen and her throne, by acknowledging the title of the pretender : he was accused of attempting to unite the crown of Spain to his own dominions, by placing his grandson upon the throne of that kingdom, and thus of endeavouring to destroy the equality of power that subsisted among the states of Europe. The new queen having declared the Earl of Marlborough captain-general of all her forces, and invested him with the order of the Garter, wrote a letter to the States-general, to assure them of her inviolable friendship, and her resolution to maintain her alliance with them, and to prosecute the plan which had been formed by her predecessor. She then sent him as her ambassador extraordinary to Holland, to concert measures with that republic. Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negotiation with the United Provinces. He excited the Dutch to co-operate with the rest of the allies in the most effectual manner ; and adjusted all the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign. He agreed with the States-general, and Imperial minister, that war should be declared against France at Vienna, London, and the Hague, on the same day. Early in April he embarked for England, having, by his abilities and address, acquired the entire confidence of the Dutch government, and being by them chosen generalissimo of the allied army ; and indeed his after-conduct shewed, that no person could possibly have been chosen with greater propriety. He had learned the first rudiments of war under the famous Turenne, having been a volunteer

in his army; and by that general his future greatness was prognosticated.

The first attempt that Marlborough made to deviate from the general practices of the army was to advance the subaltern officers, whose merits had been hitherto neglected. Regardless of seniority, wherever he found abilities, he was sure to promote them; and thus he had all the upper ranks of commanders rather remarkable for their skill and talents than for their age and experience.

All things being now settled for Marlborough's first campaign, 1702, the siege of Keyserfwert was undertaken by the earl's advice, though he was not yet arrived at the army, and the Earl of Athlone in the mean time commanded in chief. This was one of the places into which the King of France had put a garriſon, under the name of auxiliary troops of the circle of Burgundy. Keyserfwert is a little town situated on the Rhine, two leagues below Duffeldorp, and dependent on the Electorate of Cologne: its form is a parallelogram, having only one street running from end to end, defended on the land-side by three bastions and four ravelins, and by two bastions on the side of the Rhine. The point of an island which lies below the place, is capable of being made either advantageous or prejudicial to it, according to the hands it is in. The Marquis de Blainville commanded there a garriſon of six battalions. A detachment of English and Dutch troops which had been sent to the succour of the emperor, commanded by the Prince of Nassau Saarbruck, had blocked up this place from the month of March; but the siege thereof did not begin till the 18th or 19th of April, General Dop and the Baron de Heyden having invested it on the 16th with the cavalry.

An army of twenty thousand men, under Marshal Boufflers was assembled near Ruremonde, where they waited the arrival of the Duke of Burgundy, who was
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to command the army of France. As soon as they had an account of the siege of Keyferswert at the French court, they sent the marshal orders to quit that post, and to march with all his forces in order to surprize a body of troops which the allies had at Santen, under the command of the Count Tilly. Boufflers marched with his army to Wachtendonk, from whence he decamped the 25th of April in the evening, having marched all that night, and the next day he arrived on the 27th about noon at Alpen. The same day the Earl of Athlone arrived at Nimeguen with a body of horse; and, as he was intent on observing the motions of M. de Boufflers, he marched still farther without loss of time, leaving behind him such horses as were tired. M. Boufflers, advancing with all the expedition he was able, and covering as much as possible his march, drew very near Santen. Count Tilly, who had received advice of his march by his parties, decamped in the night, with all possible expedition, which he did the more easily, having had the precaution to send his baggage and heavy artillery towards the Rhine. He left however in his camp some forage and some ammunition, which he had not time to carry away. On the 23d he arrived within a league of Cleve, where he joined the Earl of Athlone. There happened in this march a skirmish between the van of Boufflers's army and the rear of the allies, in which the latter lost fifty, and the French a hundred and fifty, men. The marshal, having miscarried in his design, advanced on the side of Bonn, and began to commit hostilities in the countries of Cleve and Juliers.

The Count de Tallard, in the mean time, having the command of the troops of the circle of Burgundy, marched to the relief of Keyferswert, and, the Rhine being between him and the allies, he erected batteries to incommode the troops employed in the siege. This was what rendered the siege so long and bloody; for although the allies had battered the fortress with eight-
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and-forty pieces of cannon, and thirty mortars, and had reduced all the fortifications, and even the houses to ashes, yet so many obstacles were thrown in their way by the governor and Count Tallard, that they could not attack the covered-way till the 9th of June. They at the same time attacked a ravelin, in which they made a lodgment, notwithstanding the incessant fire from the place, and the enemies springing three mines. After this success, there was nothing to hinder their erecting batteries on the covered-way, and thence making such a breach as would enable them to take the town by storm. On the 15th therefore M. de Blainville beat the chamade, and surrendered the place on very honourable terms.

While this passed on the Rhine, the army of France, which we mentioned before, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, who had under him M. de Boufflers, twenty lieutenant-generals, and thirty marshals de camp, threatened Guelderland, and the rest of the United Provinces, with an invasion like that of the year 1672. We have before taken notice that this army was encamped at Santen, where the Duke of Burgundy arrived on the 3d of May. The Duke of Burgundy was a youth of very little experience in the art of war; but the real acting general was Marshal Boufflers, an officer of great courage and activity. The army of the allies, commanded by the Earl of Athlone, was encamped at Clarinbeck, near Cleves, where being joined by a body of English troops, it became thirty or five and thirty thousand strong; that of France was more numerous by a third.

Boufflers, having failed of surprizing Count Tilly, was desirous his pupil should strike a more important blow; he formed therefore a design of surprizing of Nimeguen, or at least to beat up the Earl of Athlone's quarters, and to cut off his communication with the town. The Earl of Athlone having received advice, on the 10th of June, that M. de Boufflers was in full march,

march, and advanced towards Goch, between Niers and the wood of Cleves, in order to cut off his communication with Grave and Nimeguen, resolved to remove with the whole army; but, as the horses belonging to the artillery and carriages were at grass, it was eight o'clock at night before they could begin their march. The earl drew up his horse in order of battle, and there happened some slight skirmishing between him and the enemy. As he advanced the French made a halt, and he continued his retreat in good order, till he reached his infantry. The French followed him leisurely, which made his lordship at first apprehend it was not the whole army, but a detachment only. A little after however, perceiving they made some signals with powder, the Earl of Athlone, with the advice of the other generals, resolved to march strait to Nimeguen; he sent also two battalions of guards of the Prince of Orange, and two other battalions, to Grave. The French perceiving his design, and all their cavalry being come up, quickened their march, and came very close to the earl about the heights of St. Ann. They even disordered both his horse and foot, but these being quickly sustained, the enemy were pushed in their turns; and the earl finding that they were much superior in number, and that both their infantry and artillery were come up, he continued to retire within the works of Nimeguen, and thereby saved his army.

While things passed in this manner on the Rhine and the Vastal, all things were in motion in the Spanish and Dutch Flanders, in the month of April. The French, who were in possession of the former, busied themselves in casting up lines in order to cover them from the attempts of the allies; but, having carried them within reach of the cannon of Lillo, the officer who commanded in that fort fired upon their pioneers, and obliged them to quit their work. On the other side, the governor of Sas Van Ghent, in the night between the 7th and 10th of April, sent a detachment of

of his garrison, with proper instruments for breaking ground, under the direction of engineers, with orders to build a fort upon the dyke between Sas Van Ghent and the village of Arsene, that he might be able to lay the country under water, in case of necessity, and to cover Sas from the bombardment with which it was threatened. And they worked with such diligence on this design, that the place by the 19th was in a posture of defence.

The night between the 8th and 9th of May, the French made an attempt on the little forts, which are in the neighbourhood of Hulst; they seized without trouble on the smallest, in which were only a serjeant and six men, who abandoned it on their approach. They afterwards with 400 men attacked the rest, but were repulsed with loss.

Much about this time, General Cohorn, who had distinguished himself in so extraordinary a manner in the siege of Namur, in the last war, and who had so well supported his reputation in the beginning of this, attacked, took, and razed, the lines in Flanders, with all their redoubts between fort Isabel and fort St. Donas. He also took the last-mentioned place, where they had a garrison of 700 men, and laid all the neighbouring country under contribution.

Let us leave Flanders a little, in order to see what passed between the armies after the affair of Nimeguen. While the French, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, pillaged the city of Cleves, and destroyed its fine park, in the month of June, M. de Grovesteins, colonel of the regiment of Frieze, marched with a detachment of 300 horse, to reconnoitre the enemy; he met with a party of their horse, consisting of 400 men, and resolved to attack them, notwithstanding their superiority. He ordered his men not to fire, and, having received theirs, he attacked them sword in hand; and, having put them to flight, he pursued them for half an hour till he came to a defile; then he

caused a retreat to be founded, having had seventy-six men killed and wounded, himself also receiving six or seven slight cuts; the French lost more than 150 men, and three officers taken prisoners.

But all this was only the prelude to the campaign; we are now coming to events much more considerable. The French, after having been victors so long, were now to be vanquished in their turns, and to lose all their conquests.

The Earl of Marlborough arrived on the 2d of July at Nimeguen, where the Earl of Athlone and General Dop came next day to compliment him, and receive his orders. He assembled there an army of sixty thousand men, composed of nineteen battalions of the troops which had been employed in the siege of Keyserfwert, those of Lunenburg and Hesse, and the English which were at Breda. With these forces, and some other bodies which joined him, he encamped at Duckenberg; there he held a council of war of all the general officers, in order to concert the operations for the remainder of the campaign. He then caused the army of the allies to cross the Meuse, near Grave, and encamped within two leagues and a half of the French, who were entrenched between Goch and Genep. After several marches, and other motions to provoke the French to a battle, his lordship evidently perceived that they were as desirous to avoid as he was to come to an engagement, which they shewed by retreating continually, or by posting themselves in inaccessible places; he therefore resolved, in concert with the deputies of the States General, to endeavour to drive the enemy from such places as they had on the Meuse, in order to secure the navigation of the river, and the communication with Maestricht.

They began with Venlo. This place was invested on the 29th of August, and, as the Duke of Burgundy did not come under the tuition of M. Boufflers to see the French towns taken, he immediately set out on

on his return to Paris. Venlo is situate on the banks of a little isle which is formed by the junction of the Meuse with the rivulet of Staven. It is said that in the year 1588, the first bombs were thrown against this place, and that in a little time after they were with greater success made use of at the siege of Wachten-donck. The Prince of Nassau Saarbruck commanded the siege, and General Cohorn had the direction of the attacks. The batteries being got ready, they fired upon the place on the 15th, with all the fury imaginable; they began on the 16th the attack of fort St. Michael, which is on the other side of the river, and the English, under Lord Cutts, carried it by assault on the 18th, having entered it with the French, after having driven them from the covered-way. The garrison was conducted to Boisseduc and to Nimeguen; and they immediately erected a battery in the fort, from whence they played on the town. On the 22d it was taken by a very singular accident. The besiegers having received news of the taking Landau, the troops employed in the siege were drawn up in order of battle to make three general discharges of the artillery and small arms, according to the custom; the besieged, who were already in distress, observing this, and conceiving that they were about to make a general assault, immediately beat the chamade, and, hostages being given on each side, the capitulation was signed on the 23d, and the garrison conducted to Antwerp.

Soon after the taking of Venlo, the Count de Noyelles was detached with a body of troops to besiege Stevenweert, and the Prince of Nassau Saarbruck to invest Ruremonde. The person who commanded Stevenweert did not stay till a breach was made before he yielded the place; he capitulated on the 1st of October, and on the 3d he and his garrison marched out in order to be conducted to Namur. The trenches were opened before Ruremonde in the night, between the 2d and 3d of October; and, as the siege was carried

ried on with great vigour, it was brought to capitulate on the 7th, and the garrison marched out on the 9th with four pieces of cannon, in order to be conducted to Louvain,

Although the season was now pretty far advanced, yet the allies, animated by the success of their arms, resolved to finish the campaign with the conquest of a place of as great importance as they had yet taken. It seems that M. Boufflers had some apprehension of their design, and that he was in pain for Liege; he went twice to that city, first on the 27th of September, and again on the 2d of October; he visited very carefully the citadels, and all the advantageous posts between Liege and Maestricht, as if he intended to encamp somewhere between those cities; but no sooner was he informed that the Earl of Marlborough was in motion, and that he was marching directly to Liege, but he quitted precipitately his camp of Tongres, and retired behind the lines of Brabant, in order to cover the places in that province which hitherto had not been attacked.

The army of the allies appeared on the 13th of October before Liege, and soon after their troops entered the town, which the French had abandoned in the morning, in order to retire to the citadels. On the 20th in the morning, the batteries being in order, the allies began to fire on the citadel, and the same evening the trenches were opened in two places, in order that two attacks might be made, one by the English on the right, and the other by the Dutch on the left. They pushed their approaches that night within forty paces of the counterscarp. The next day the trenches were enlarged and perfected. The allies were so fortunate as to lose only a small number of men in this siege, notwithstanding the prodigious fire made by the French. An assault was made on the 23d, between four and five in the evening; and, though nothing more was designed than to make a lodgment on the counter-

counterescarp, yet in the space of half an hour it was carried, and the soldiers having pushed the enemy to the breach, and made themselves masters thereof, entered the citadel on every side, which they likewise carried sword in hand, and gained therein a very considerable booty. M. de Violaine, the governor, was taken in the breach, with several other officers; and, after some slaughter, which could not be prevented in the first shock, the garrison, amounting to eight battalions, were made prisoners without any capitulation.

The armies separated some time after, in order to go into winter-quarters, and the Earl of Marlborough set out for the Hague with Mr. Geldermalsen, deputy of the States, escorted only by a lieutenant and twenty-five men. At Ruremonde they joined M. Cohorn, and continued their voyage together, under an escort of sixty horse, besides sixty men more who were with General Cohorn in his yacht. Their excellencies arrived the 4th of November at Venlo, where they were furnished with a fresh escort. But coming in the night to a place two or three leagues below Venlo, where the cavalry were obliged to march at a considerable distance from the river, and the two yachts being separated from each other, a party of thirty-five men from the garrison of Guelders issued from an ambuscade, and attacked the vessel wherein the earl was. They presently laid hold of the rope, dragged the yacht towards the shore, making at the same time a general discharge, throwing into it several grenades, and at last boarding and making themselves masters of the yacht, in spite of the five and twenty soldiers who were therein. The commander of the party having demanded if they had any passports, M. d'Obdam and Mr. Geldermalsen produced theirs, which were according to form. The Earl of Marlborough had one which had been made use of by his brother General Churchill, but now expired; he tendered it however with so much calmness, and such presence of mind, that

that the partisan took it for a good one, and, having searched their baggage, seized what silver plate they found, and made the escort of five-and-twenty men prisoners, they left their excellencies to pursue their voyage in peace.

Though it be our design to give only an exact account of the actions wherein the English forces were more particularly concerned, yet we shall also point out in a few words the principal events of every campaign in the several countries wherein the war was carried on by the allies of England.

The emperor had assembled on the Rhine an army of forty thousand men, commanded by Prince Lewis of Baden, under the King of the Romans, afterwards the Emperor Joseph. The Marshal de Catinat commanded the army of France, which was not strong enough to act offensively. The Prince of Baden opened the campaign by the siege of the important fortress of Landau. M. de Melac, a lieutenant-general, commanded in that place; and, being apprised of the design of the Imperial general, he took all imaginable precautions, in order to render it abortive, by causing several outworks to be raised to impede the progress of the Imperialists, and to give time to the Marshal de Catinat and Lieutenant-general d'Uxelles, who commanded in Alsace, to come to his relief. The siege was very long, and afforded several officers of distinction opportunities of acquiring glory. The place capitulated on the 10th of September.

The moment Landau surrendered, the Elector of Bavaria, who hitherto had not declared, possessed himself by surprise of the city of Ulm, in order to punish, as he pretended, the circles of Suabia and Franconia, for having taken part with the emperor, notwithstanding a treaty of association they had made with his electoral highness for maintaining the tranquillity of the empire. This action, which was not at all expected, was followed by his most Christian majesty's sending orders

orders to the Marquis de Villars to march with a part of the army on the other side of the Rhine, in order to join the Duke of Bavaria, who was advancing through the Black Forest. The marquis marched accordingly to Hunninguen, in order to pass the Rhine there: but the Prince of Baden, always vigilant, prevented him, and rendered that passage far more difficult than it was imagined at the court of Versailles, as it produced a very bloody engagement between Fredlingen and Etlingen, where no less than 4000 men on one side and the other remained dead in the field. In this action both parties attributed to themselves the glory of the day. The King of France caused *Te Deum* to be sung at Versailles; and, to make the world believe he was thoroughly persuaded his troops had obtained the victory, he sent the staff of a marshal to the Marquis of Villars, who had commanded them. The Imperialists, as they had remained masters of the field of battle, and obliged the French to return to the other side of the Rhine, claimed, with greater justice, the honour of this victory, and sang *Te Deum* also.

Prince Eugene commanded the imperial forces in Italy. Mantua and Cremona, situated almost in the very centre of his quarters, excited his attention in the highest degree; these two places might be regarded on that side as the keys of Italy, and especially of the Milanese. In the hands of the enemy they were continual obstacles to all the designs he could form. In his own they would have established a double communication with the dominions of the house of Austria, viz. with the Trentin on one side, and the Adriatic sea on the other. But, if the prince had so just an idea of the importance of these places, the enemy likewise were far from being ignorant of their use; and in consequence they had eight thousand men in garrison at Mantua, and very near as many in Cremona.

The prince however neglected not to form designs
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on both, during the winter, favoured therein by the disposition of his quarters, which lay between these places, and extended as far as the Parmesan. A strait blockade seemed to him the only proper method for reducing Mantua, by cutting off from those in the town all manner of subsistence; and in the mean time he formed a project to surprize Cremona. He had good intelligence in the town; and he understood from those with whom he held correspondence, that there was a certain old aqueduct which had been long neglected, and which lay out of the way, whereby a considerable body of troops might be secretly introduced into the place; he took care to have all this examined, and, finding that things were in fact as they were reported, he fixed the execution of this enterprize for the 1st of February. In order to execute the design with the less noise, he resolved to employ therein six thousand men horse and foot; three thousand taken from the quarters in the Mantuan, and three thousand drawn from the territories of Parma. The first-mentioned body, under the command of Prince Commerci and Count Staremberg, appeared at three o'clock in the morning before the gate of St. Margaret; and the latter, under the command of the young Prince of Vaudemont, advanced to the gate of the Po, to be in readiness to enter as soon as the place was seized, and the gate set open. All things were executed exactly as the prince had designed, without the least noise or confusion; they approached in silence the Canetta, which runs into the ditch of the town; over this they threw a bridge without being discovered, and reached the aqueduct, whereby upwards of a thousand men entered the town without the enemy's perceiving them, or knowing any thing of the matter. In less than an hour the gate of St. Margaret was forced, the corps de garde put to the sword, and several posts in the town taken; afterwards the cavalry entered without the least opposition, and rode full speed to the posts which



PRINCE EUGENE

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which had been assigned them. The prince entered at the same time, and directed the whole action. By this time the enemy perceived that it was no longer time to sleep. They ran from all parts; they got together; they formed themselves as well as they could; the prince caused them to be charged on all sides: in some places they were forced, in others they defended themselves like lions. M. Villeroy was made prisoner in the very beginning of the action, and with him the M. de Crenan, lieutenant-general, who was mortally wounded. They made themselves masters of the town-house, the great square, and the principal church. If they had been able to possess themselves of the Po gate, and have opened it to Prince Vaudemont, the thing would have been done, the place taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war: but two Irish regiments who were posted there defended themselves so well, that it was impossible to force that gate. They did not however neglect seizing all the boats they could meet with, and sending them to Prince Vaudemont, in order for him to have passed over his foot in some other place; but, there not being a sufficient number of these vessels, his crossing the river was therefore retarded, so that evening coming on, and the engagement having lasted eleven hours, the prince ordered his troops to retire, which they did leisurely, and in excellent order. The French, perfectly well pleased to be rid of such dangerous guests, did not think fit to trouble themselves with following them out of town; and therefore made no pursuit. The number of prisoners made on this occasion was nearly equal on one side and the other; but that of the dead and the wounded was by far greater on the side of the French than on that of the Imperialists, because a great number of the former were killed before they could rally: besides, there were ninety officers taken, who with Marshal de Villeroy were carried to Inspruck.

Prince Eugene may be justly said to have acquired
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as much glory as if the affair had succeeded, since nothing could have been better concerted, and since his project was rendered abortive by mere accidents which it was impossible for him to prevent. But, besides glory, he reaped from his enterprize some considerable advantages, by rendering himself master of several important posts upon the Oglio; for the M. de Crequi, having been informed that Cremona was surpris'd, withdrew all the detachments he had in those places, in order to form a body considerable enough to enable him to succour that town; his highness therefore took possession at his return of Gazolo, Bozolo, St. Martino, Torre d'Oglio, and Viadana. Prince Vaudemont also took Basseto in the Parmesan, and made its garrison prisoners of war.

In the mean time the blockade of Mantua was continued with the utmost vigour; it lasted eight months, so that an account of it would be very tedious. What saved Mantua was the extraordinary diligence the court of France used in sending all sorts of reinforcements into Italy. In the beginning of March, twenty-five thousand men entered it by the way of Genoa, Final, and other places. The Duke de Vendome was also sent thither to command in the stead of the M. Villeroy; and, as he was in high esteem on account of his great knowledge in the art of war, it was not all doubted in France, but that a mighty change would happen after his arrival. He contented himself however with throwing some provisions into the place, and did not attempt raising the blockade till after he had been two months in Italy. At last on the 24th of May he entered Mantua, with a grand convoy of ammunition and provision, at the head of forty thousand men. Yet Mantua was not absolutely free, for the prince did not abandon his principal posts. He had taken four days before a place called Cerez, which is a gate to Mantua. He kept it, destroyed its fortifications, and erected there

there such new works as were necessary for the security of his troops.

The body of Prince Eugene's army was encamped between the canal called Fossa Maestra and the Mincio, fronting towards Mantua, and having the Po in its rear.---On the 3d of June the Duke de Vendome encamped with his army within cannon-shot of him, his right stretching to the confluence of Ozona, with the Fossa Maestra, and his left to Santa Maria delle Gratié.

In this situation, Prince Eugene having on his skirts the French army of fifty thousand strong, carried on the blockade of Mantua, and pressed it with all the vigour of a formal siege. By his orders, the young Count de Daun made himself master of a new post near the gate of Pradella, at the head of only five or six hundred men, in which he made a lodgment, notwithstanding the incessant fire from the ramparts. Those within made several sallies, but were repulsed. The Duke of Vendome, who was a spectator of all this, did nothing towards their relief, though his army was superior to that of his highness by twenty thousand men.

But to do justice to that general, he had his hands tied as to giving battle. King Philip persuading himself, that, with so great a superiority of troops, he could not fight without gaining a signal victory, desired to reserve to himself so great an honour, and absolutely forbade him undertaking any thing which might bring on a decisive engagement. "I apprehend," says he in his letter of the 9th of May, "that you will not beat the enemy before my arrival. I give you leave to succour Mantua; but stop there, and wait for my coming before you attempt any thing farther."

That prince, who seemed to have come into Italy to no other purpose than to make a parade with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and to draw from every quarter visits, persons to do him homage, and

embassies, had nevertheless a strong desire to signalize this journey of his by some extraordinary feat in war; for this reason he quitted his pleasant situation at Naples to go into Lombardy, where he doubted not that victory waited to crown him with never-fading laurels. The 11th of June he landed at Final, the 18th he made his entry into Milan; all the streets being adorned with tapestries and pictures; on the 3d of July he went to Cremona, where the Dukes of Parma and Mantua came to pay him their visits. Three thousand men, who had escorted him from Naples, joined the army about the same time; this was a new reinforcement which he thought would give certainty to their hopes.

The different motions made by the enemy in the month of July, furnished them at length with an opportunity of surprising and defeating three regiments of Imperial horse at Santa Vittoria. They lost however a very great number of men on their side; for the Imperialists, notwithstanding their being surprised, defended themselves with great vigour for a long time, but in the end they were defeated, and the Duke of Anjou had the pleasure of coming in at the close of this small engagement, which happened on the 26th of July.

The French troops entered the duchy of Modena; whereupon the duke, struck with the sight of so formidable an army in the heart of his country, retired immediately to Bologna, with the princes his sons, and all his family. The towns of Modena and Reggio submitted themselves in consequence of this, either by the duke's order, or out of fear; Carpi did not stay to be summoned, the other places followed their example, and all this was done with such precipitation, that the enemy in five days found themselves in possession of the whole country, excepting only Bersello, in which there was an Imperial garrison.

It was apprehended that after this the several places on the banks of the Po would fall into the hands of the

the enemy one after another. There was only one way to prevent this, which was by giving battle, and in order thereto it was necessary to abandon the blockade of Mantua; a motion difficult and dangerous, since the old Prince of Vaudemont was posted at Rivalta, and had the Imperial troops in sight. It was performed, however, even without loss. Silence and the night, those faithful attendants on secrecy, so well concealed their march, that the Prince of Vaudemont had not the least knowledge of it.

The same day, being the 1st of August, the Imperial army passed the Po, and encamped at Soileto, excepting twelve battalions, which the prince left before Borgoforte, in order to secure that place. He had upwards of four thousand men in Bersello, a thousand in Ossiglia, fifteen hundred in Guastalla, five hundred in Luzzara, and as many in Mirandola; so that his army did not consist of above twenty-five thousand men. The young king had with him thirty-five thousand men, so that nothing hindered him from gratifying that extreme desire he had shewn for fighting at the beginning of the campaign. But, knowing how great a captain he had to deal with, he thought it more expedient to stay till the Prince of Vaudemont joined him than to hazard a battle without him. This however was not effected, for that general had marched to Borgoforte with some view of forcing the twelve battalions who were entrenched there, and even the place itself; but, not being able to succeed, he resolved to leave a considerable body of troops before it, and to march with only a few thousand men to reinforce the grand army.

These precautions taken, King Philip, whose army lay at Testa, decamped in the night between the 14th and 15th of August, without beating the generale, and without sound of trumpet, marching directly to Luzzara, which they doubted not to surprise by so sudden an attack. They were greatly elated by the small advantage

vantage they had gained in the trifling action at Santa Vittoria. The army arrived there about eight o'clock in the morning, and immediately summoned the commander, but in vain: that officer returned no answer but from the mouths of his artillery and small arms; by a shot of the latter the Count of Sezane had his arm broke. Prince Eugene, upon being informed of this motion of the enemy, immediately put his army on the march, so that by three o'clock in the afternoon the two armies were in sight. That of the enemy had time to take all advantages; it was so posted as to have Luzzara behind it; its left stretched towards the Po, and on the right it had some castles which were fortified. The dike of the Po divided it in two, but in a manner very favourable for its defence, because it served as an entrenchment to both wings; and the Duke of Vendome had placed a battery of cannon upon it which commanded the country on both sides. The left was covered by an eminence and a coppice, the avenues of which they had stopped up by felling several trees. On the right they made use of several ditches which happened luckily enough to be there. The enemy formed all the troops in one line, with two corps of horse and foot posted in reserve to support their right and left.

This disposition of the battle and of the country obliged Prince Eugene wholly to change his. His first and second line became now his right and left wings; the one separated from the other as the enemies were by the dike of the Po, on which there was raised a counter-battery of four pieces of cannon, a castle which they found before the left wing, and pretty near the bank, was garrisoned; and, as they perceived the left wing of the enemy had been reinforced by a considerable body of foot, who had lined the bank of the Po, they opposed thereto a body of men commanded by the Prince of Commercy, strengthened by a part of the first line, and sustained by cavalry; so that it formed

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an advanced corps before the right wing, at the head of which Prince Commercy put himself.

As to the strength of the two armies, that of the French consisted of fifty-three battalions, and one hundred and one squadrons, that of the emperor of thirty-four battalions, and seventy-five squadrons. Though the young king was present in the French army, it was the Duke of Vendome that commanded. In the Imperial army, the Prince of Commercy and the young Prince of Vaudemont led the right wing; Count Staremberg and Count Trautmansdorf the left. Prince Eugene was at the head of the whole; and about five in the afternoon he gave the signal of battle; but, as the French army declined coming out of their intrenchments, Prince Eugene advanced and attacked them in their posts. Unfortunately this first attack cost the life of Prince Commercy, and occasioned some confusion among the troops, inasmuch as he was killed at their head, and was a person much beloved and esteemed. They attacked the enemy a second, a third, and a fourth, time; and at length forced some regiments to give way; they possessed themselves of the ground upon which these troops were drawn up, and in some places pushed the enemy a mile outright from the field of battle.

The case was pretty near the same on the left. At first the extraordinary fire of the enemy retarded for a while the progress of the Imperialists, and even put them into confusion. The Prince of Lichtenstein received five wounds, and the Count de Trautmansdorf, general of the horse, had the misfortune to have his foot so shattered as to be obliged to be carried off. Several other officers were killed or wounded; and in one of these charges the enemy pierced quite through the line of the Imperialists, and reached the young Prince de Vaudemont, who commanded in the rear a reserve of twelve or fifteen squadrons; but they were
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received in such a manner as gave them no inclination to approach a second time.

The event of this engagement was, that night separated the armies; that on the side of the Po the enemy lost a mile of country, and all their wounded, their ammunition, tents and instruments belonging to their pioneers; and at last they were forced to retire, and so the field of battle remained entirely in the possession of the Imperialists. This gave them room to claim the victory, nor was this claim weakened by the computation which was afterwards made of the number of men it had cost; for on the side of the Imperialists 791 were killed, and 1904 wounded; that of the enemy could not be certainly known; in their accounts they mentioned only 2500 men killed and wounded; but, from all the circumstances which could be collected, there fell not fewer than four or five thousand men, among whom were a great number of distinction; they lost also seven standards, and we only one.

As to the consequences of the battle, they were the same as if there had been no battle at all; the two armies remained in their posts, which they kept to the very end of the campaign, without losing or gaining an inch of ground on one side or the other. Luzara, which was surrounded on all sides, surrendered at discretion to the Duke of Vendome, on the 17th, at four o'clock in the morning; and Guastalla, which was no more than an open town, without any outworks or palisades, held out eleven days, and obtained an honourable capitulation. The French then laid siege to Borgoforte, which the Count de Tessé invested with a detachment from the garrison of Mantua, which finished that campaign; if we except the Duke of Vendome's causing Governolo to be attacked in December.---On the other hand, Prince Eugene formed a design for the surprising of Mantua, notwithstanding its numerous garrison; and he would certainly have succeeded therein if notice had not been given of it

to the Duke of Vendome. His highness with this view posted considerable bodies of troops in the neighbourhood of Mantua, and gave out that he would block up that place during the winter. His intelligence in the town not being sufficient to answer his purpose, some of his emissaries attempted to corrupt an officer of the garrison to open one of the gates. The officer pretended to listen to their proposal, but he gave notice of it to M. de Vendome, who immediately took proper measures for surprising Prince Eugene, when he should attempt the putting his project in execution. He acted with such precaution that the blow he intended could not possibly have failed, if an old soldier had not deserted in the night, and given intelligence to Prince Eugene, who was actually on his march; and by this means both generals were disappointed.

The good success which England and her allies had had by land this campaign, seemed to console the nation for some unsuccessful expeditions at sea. Of the operations at sea for this year we shall now proceed to speak.

Prince George of Denmark, the queen's consort, was placed at the head of the admiralty, in the room of the Earl of Pembroke. This new lord high-admiral had a council appointed him, consisting of Sir George Rooke, now created vice-admiral of England; Sir David Mitchell, George Churchill, Esq. now created admiral of the red, in the room of Aylmer, afterwards Lord Aylmer; and Richard Hill, Esq. who were to assist him with their advice.

Immediately on the declaration of war, Sir John Munden, rear-admiral of the red, was sent to the coast of Spain with a squadron, consisting of eight ships of the third rate, one fourth rate, and two frigates, to intercept a French squadron that was to sail from Corunna, or the Groyne, with the Duke of Albuquerque, appointed viceroy of Mexico, and whom they were to escort thither. On the 18th of May this fleet arrived

off Finisterre; and the ships sent out to gain intelligence of the enemy fell in with, and took, a French ship from Martinico. On the night of the 25th the admiral sent in a smack, which brought off a Spanish boat, and a French bark, with several prisoners, who informed him that there were thirteen French ships of war, bound from Rochelle to the Groyne. Hereupon Sir John Munden carried a pressed sail, with a view to get to windward, and thereby intercept them before they could reach the harbour, and issued orders to all his captains to put their ships in immediate readiness for battle. On the 28th, fourteen sail of ships were descried between Cape Prior and Cape Ortegal, close under the shore. The signal was immediately thrown out to chase, but, before they could come up with them, they had all got safe into the Groyne. The information received from prisoners led the admiral to conclude, that twelve of the ships which he had chased were French men of war of the line, and that three more fifty-gun ships lay in port. Intelligence had likewise been received, that the town was farther defended by two thousand land-forces. It was likewise well known to be a place of strength, and the entrance into the harbour particularly difficult. A council of war was hereupon called, in which it was unanimously resolved, that all attempts at destroying the shipping so protected would prove ineffectual, and that to continue to lie off the harbour would be attended with no advantages whatever. It was therefore judged proper to repair into the soundings, there to protect the trade. Of these steps the admiral sent an account to the lord high-admiral, and cruised with his fleet in the latitude of $49^{\circ} 30'$, thirty leagues to the westward of Scilly, until the 20th of June, when, water growing scarce, and the ships having suffered by bad weather, the fleet returned to port. The miscarriage of this expedition raised murmurs among the people; therefore it was thought necessary to appoint a court-mar-

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J. Chapman sculp.

ADMIRAL SIR. GEORGE ROOKE.

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tial for the trial of Sir John Munden. This court were of opinion, that he had fully cleared himself, had complied with his instructions, and behaved himself with great zeal and diligence. However, notwithstanding this acquittal, it was thought proper to lay him aside, that the public service, at the commencement of a war, might not be injured by lenity shewn to inactive commanders.

Great preparations had been made before the death of King William, to fit out a grand fleet, the command of which was then designed for the Earl of Pembroke, which would have had on-board a large body of land-forces, headed by the Duke of Ormond, in order to get possession of Cadiz for the archduke Charles. It was farther intended, to keep up a large naval force in the West-Indies, whereby the possessions of Spain in that quarter of the world might be effectually annoyed, and the contest for the Spanish succession brought to a speedy issue, in favour of the maritime interests. Preparations were carried on with great diligence during the winter, to execute this important plan; and such was the secrecy with which its object was concealed, that France, Spain, and even Portugal, who was then in their alliance, were equally alarmed at it. The new reign did not impede this design; only the Earl of Pembroke, who had retired from his employments, was succeeded in the command of the fleet by Sir George Rooke. The admiral hoisted the union flag on board the Royal Sovereign, on the 30th day May, 1702. The Dutch fleet, which joined the English, bore five flags, viz. two admirals, two vice-admirals, and a rear-admiral. This combined fleet consisted of thirty English ships of the line, and twenty Dutch; and the small vessels, transports, and tenders, which accompanied it, made the whole amount to one hundred and sixty sail. The English land-forces amounted to near ten thousand men, and the Dutch to four thousand. In the latter end of June the fleet

failed from St. Helen's, but did not clear the English coast till the latter end of July; and on the 12th of August anchored within two leagues of Cadiz. Next day the Duke of Ormond sent a trumpet to Cadiz, with a letter to the Duke de Brancaccio, the governor, requiring him to submit to the house of Austria: Brancaccio answered, "he would acquit himself honourably of the trust reposed in him by the king." On the 15th Ormond landed his forces on the Bay of Bulls, under cover of a smart fire from some frigates, and repulsed a body of Spanish cavalry. Then he summoned the governor of fort St. Catharine to surrender, who replied, "he had cannon mounted, and powder and ball ready to receive him." A declaration was published in the Spanish language, intimating, that the allies did not come as enemies to Spain, but only to free them from the yoke of France, and assist them in establishing themselves under the government of the house of Austria. These professions produced very little effect among the Spaniards, who were either cooled in their attachment to that family, or provoked by the depredations committed by the troops, who, having mastered fort St. Catharine and port St. Mary, instead of protecting the inhabitants, plundered them, in defiance of the strict orders issued by the commander in chief: even some general officers were concerned in the pillage; two of whom, Sir ---- Bellasis and Sir Charles Hara, were put under arrest, when they returned to England. The former was dismissed the service, but the latter was acquitted, though not in the public opinion. It being found too difficult to approach Cadiz whilst the Spaniards were in possession of Matagorda fort, opposite to the Puntal, it was ordered to be attacked; but the attempt miscarried, and the troops were re-embarked, with intention to return home.

Captain Hardy, in the Pembroke, having been sent to water in Lagos Bay, received intelligence from Mr. Methuen, her majesty's envoy at Lisbon, that the galleons

leons from the West-Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French squadron. Hardy, on receiving this important information, set sail immediately in quest of Sir George Rooke, who was now out at sea on his return to England. It was not until the 7th day of October that he reached the fleet, when, having imparted his intelligence, Rooke called a council of war, in which it was determined to alter the course of the fleet, and sail immediately to the port of Vigo, and attack the enemy. Some small vessels were immediately dispatched to gain intelligence; from whom the admiral was informed, that the French squadron, commanded by Chateau Renault, and the Spanish galleons, were in the harbour; but the wind, blowing a storm, drove the fleet to the northward as far as Cape Finisterre, so that it could not make the port of Vigo till the 11th. The passage into the harbour was narrow, secured by batteries, forts, and breast-works, on each side; across the entrance of the harbour was thrown a strong boom, consisting of iron chains, top-masts, and cables, moored at each end to a seventy-gun ship. Within the boom were moored five ships, of between sixty and seventy guns each, with their broadsides fronting the entrance of the passage. As the first and second rate ships of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the admirals removed their flags into third-rates; and a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war, with all the fire-ships, frigates, and bomb-ketches, were ordered upon the service. In order to facilitate the attack, the Duke of Ormond landed two thousand five hundred men on the south side of the river Minho, about six miles from Vigo, and took, by assault, a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour. As soon as the English flag was seen flying from the place, the ships advanced to attack. Vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, crowding all his sail, ran directly against the boom, which was broken by the first shock; and then

then the Kent, with the rest of the squadron, English and Dutch, entered the harbour, through a prodigious fire from the enemy's ships and batteries. These last however were soon stormed, and taken by the grenadiers who had been landed. The great ships lay against the forts at each side of the harbour, which, in a little time, they silenced; though Vice-admiral Hopson narrowly escaped from a fire-ship by which he was boarded. After a very vigorous engagement, the French finding themselves unable to cope with such an adversary, resolved to destroy their ships and galleons, to prevent their falling into the hands of the victors. The loss which the navy of France sustained by this stroke, was nearly equal to that which they suffered ten years before at La Hogue; and although the plate-fleet, by having been arrived twenty-five days in port before the attack was made, had unladen great part of its treasure and merchandize, yet the spoils made by the conquerors were considerable. Six galleons were taken by the English, and five by the Dutch, who sunk six. The galleons had on-board twenty millions of pieces of eight, besides merchandize which was thought of equal value. Of the silver, fourteen millions were saved; of the goods about five. Four millions of plate were destroyed, with ten millions of merchandize; and about two millions in silver, and five in goods, were brought away by the English and Dutch. This great exploit was atchieved with very inconsiderable loss. Very few on board the ships were killed, though the foremost of the fleet suffered greatly in their hulls: of the troops, only two lieutenants and thirty men were killed, and four superior officers wounded. Immediately after the action, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been sent out with a squadron to intercept the galleons, joined Sir George Rooke. The admiral left this officer to complete the destruction of such French ships as could not be brought off, and to bring home the prizes, whilst he himself returned with the grand fleet to England. By this

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ADMIRAL BENBOW

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this blow, the naval power of France received so deep a wound, that it languished during the whole war.

The vigour with which the war was carried on by sea, gave the most favourable presages of success. Whilst these great efforts were making in Europe, two squadrons were sent to the western hemisphere. One, commanded by Commodore Leake, sailed the 24th of June for Newfoundland; whilst a fleet under Admiral Benbow had, for some time, been stationed in the West-Indies. Leake executed his instructions so successfully, that by the end of October he had made prize of twenty-nine sail of French ships, and burnt two. He also burnt and destroyed all the fishing-boats and stages, together with a fort belonging to the French at Newfoundland, which were of the greatest importance to them for carrying on the fishery there, and training seamen to the service. He then sailed home, having the homeward-bound ships for England under his convoy, and arrived safe at Portsmouth on the 10th day of November, in the same year.

The endeavours of the brave Admiral Benbow, however, were not crowned with the like success. He was detached with a squadron of ten sail by the Earl of Pembroke, in the latter end of the year 1701; and arrived at Barbadoes on the 3d of November, and proceeded from thence to Jamaica: he found the apprehensions of an approaching war very general among the islands: he found in Port-Royal harbour, two men of war; one a fifth and the other a sixth rate. Here he was informed that the Spanish flota were at Vera Cruz; and that a French fleet, consisting of sixteen men of war, lay at the Havannah, ready to convoy them to Europe. Towards the latter end of January, Brigadier-general Selwyn arrived at his government of Jamaica, and brought with him a fourth, fifth, and sixth, rate man of war, by whom advice was received, that a French squadron of superior force had arrived at Martinico. It was soon after reported, that the French
fleet

fleet at Martinico had joined that at the Havannah, which united force being considerably superior to any which the English possessed in those parts, greatly alarmed all the islands. In February news was brought that the French fleet, consisting of forty sail, with three flags, had been seen off Porto-Rico to the south-west. Soon after more certain intelligence was obtained, by means of a sloop sent out for that purpose, that the French commander in chief lay in the gulph of Lagone, in Hispaniola, with thirty ships of war, having sent ten of his largest ships to Europe. In the middle of May, Rear-admiral Whetstone arrived from England with a reinforcement. Benbow continued at Jamaica, watching the motions of the French fleet, and sending out detachments to pick up prizes, and to gain intelligence, until the 11th day of July, when he sailed, with six men of war, to join Rear-admiral Whetstone, who had been sent out with a like force to intercept M. Du Cas, who he had received intelligence had been sent from Carthage, with four men of war, to port Louis, at the west-end of Hispaniola, to settle the assiento, and to destroy the trade of the English and Dutch for negroes: in his way thither he fell in with a French man of war, pierced for fifty guns, and mounting thirty, which he forced on shore; and her captain, to prevent her falling into the hands of the English, set her on fire.

The admiral, on the 19th of August, in the evening, discovered ten sail of ships on the coast of Santa Martha, upon the continent of South-America. Standing towards them, he soon found the greatest part were French ships of war; whereupon, making the usual signal for a line of battle, he went away with an easy sail, that his sternmost ships might come up and join him, the French steering westward along the shore, under their top-sails. Their squadron consisted of four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, with one great Dutch-built ship of about thirty or forty; and there

there was another full of soldiers, the rest small ones, and a sloop. Our frigates astern were a long while coming up; and, the night advancing, the admiral steered along side of the French; but, though he endeavoured to get near them, yet he intended not to make any attack until the *Defiance* was got a-breast of the headmost. Before he could reach that station, the *Falmouth*, which was in the rear, attempted the Dutch ship, the *Windsor* the ship a-breast of her, as did also the *Defiance*; and soon after the rear-admiral himself was engaged, having first received the fire of the ship which was opposite to him; but the *Defiance* and *Windsor* stood no more than two or three broadsides before they tacked to windward out of gun-shot, insomuch that the two sternmost ships of the enemy lay upon the admiral, and galled him very much; nor did the ships in the rear come up to his assistance with that diligence which might have been expected. From four o'clock until night the fight continued; and, though they then left off firing, yet the admiral kept them company; and, being of opinion, that it might be better for the service if he had a new line of battle, and led himself on all tacks, he did so.---On the 20th, at day-break, he found himself very near the enemy, with only the *Ruby* to assist him; the rest of the ships lying three, four, or five, miles astern. They had but little wind; and, though the admiral was within gun-shot of the French, yet they were so civil as not to fire. About two in the afternoon the sea-breeze began to blow, and then the enemy got into a line, making what sail they could; and, the rest of the ships not coming up, the admiral and the *Ruby* plied them with chace-guns, and kept them company all night.--On the 21st, the admiral was on the quarter of the second ship of the enemy's line, within point-blank shot; but, the *Ruby* being a-head of the same ship, she fired at her, as the other ship did likewise that was a-head of the admiral. The *Breda* engaged the ship

that first attacked the Ruby, and plied her so warmly, that she was forced to tow off. The admiral would have followed her, but the Ruby was in such a condition that he could not leave her. During this engagement, the rear ship of the enemy was a-breast of the Defiance and Windsor; but neither of those ships fired a single shot.---On the 22d, at day-break, the Greenwich was five leagues astern, though the signal for battle was never taken down: about three in the afternoon the wind, which was before easterly, changed to the south-west, which gave the enemy the weather-gage.---On the 23d, the enemy was six leagues ahead, and the great Dutch ship separated from them. At ten the enemy tacked, with the wind at east-north-east; the vice-admiral fetched within point-blank shot of two of them, and each gave the other his broadside. The Ruby being disabled, the admiral sent her to Jamaica to refit. The rest of the squadron now came up, and, the enemy being but two miles off, the brave admiral was yet in hopes of doing some effectual service, and therefore continued to steer after them; but his ships, except the Falmouth, were soon a-stern again. At twelve the French began to separate.---On the 24th, about two in the morning, they came up within call of the sternmost, there being then very little wind. The admiral fired a broadside, which the French ship returned. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was broken by a chain-shot. The skirmish continued until day appeared, when a French ship of about seventy guns, was seen, with her main-yard down and shot to pieces, her fore-top-sail-yard shot away, her mizen-mast shot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her sides much torn. The admiral soon after discovered the enemy standing towards him with a strong gale of wind. The Windsor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, stood ahead of the enemy, and bore to leeward of the disabled ship, firing their broadsides as they passed her, and stood to the southward: the
Defiance

Defiance followed them, fired part of her broadside, when, the disabled ship returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her top-sails, and ran to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the signal of battle. It was upon full evidence of this fact, that Captain Kirby was condemned for cowardice, though, on other occasions, he had behaved well. It was generally supposed, that he was the author of this scheme; at least he was charged with being so, by Wade and Constable.

The enemy, seeing these three ships stand to the southward, expected they would have tacked and stood towards them, and therefore they brought to, with their heads to the northward. But, when they saw those ships did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the flag-ship, and, running between him and their disabled ship, poured in all their shot, by which they brought down his main-top-sail-yard, and shattered his rigging very much, none of the other ships being near him, or taking the least notice of his signals, though Captain Fogg ordered two guns to be fired at the ships a head, in order to remind them of their duty. The French, seeing things in this confusion, brought to, and lay by their own disabled ship, re-manned her, and took her in tow. When the Breda's rigging was repaired, the admiral, who had caused himself to be brought upon deck in his cradle, ordered his captain to pursue the enemy, then about three miles to leeward, his line of battle signal still displayed; and orders were sent to the several captains for them to keep the line, and behave like men. Upon this Captain Kirby came on-board the admiral, and told him "that he had better desist; that the French were very strong; and that, from what was past, he might guess he could make nothing of it." In this advice all the other captains concurred, although the ships were in as good condition as could be expected, and not above

eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ship, nor was there any want of ammunition; whereas the enemy had now no more than four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, and one of them disabled and in tow. The vice-admiral thought proper upon this to return to Jamaica, where he arrived with his squadron very weak with a fever, brought on by the loss of his leg, and the agitation of his mind. Here he was soon after joined by Whetstone, with the ships under his command.

The French ships that were with M. Du Casse had sailed from Corunna, having on-board the Duke of Albuquerque, viceroy of Mexico, and a considerable number of soldiers. These were some of those ships which eluded Sir John Munden's fleet, and got into port. The French accounts, indeed, represent the affair to their own advantage, as is their practice on all occasions; but M. Du Casse, who was a brave man, and certainly the best judge of the transaction, appears to have been of another opinion, by the following short letter, which he wrote immediately after his arrival at Carthagena; the original of which is preserved in Admiral Benbow's family:---“Sir, I had little hopes, on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin: but it pleased God to order it otherwise; I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up; for by ----- they deserve it. DU CASSE.” Benbow soon after issued a commission to Whetstone, and to several captains, to hold a court-martial for the trial of several offenders.--- On the 6th of October, 1702, the court sat at Port-Royal, when Captain Kirby, of the *Defiance*, was brought upon his trial. He was accused of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty; which crimes were proved upon oath, by the admiral himself, ten commission, and eleven warrant, officers; by whose evidence it appeared, that the admiral boarded Du Casse in person three times, and received a large wound

in his face, and another in his arm, before his leg was shot off: that Kirby, after two or three broadsides, kept always out of gun-shot, and by his behaviour created such a fear of desertion as greatly discouraged the English in the engagement: that he kept two or three miles a-stern all the second day, though repeatedly commanded to keep his station: that the third day he did not fire a gun, though he saw the admiral in the utmost peril, being engaged with three French ships at once, and unsupported. It was deposed, that Kirby threatened to kill his boatswain for repeating the admiral's command to fire. No solid defence was set up to invalidate these heavy charges, therefore the court adjudged him to be shot. The same day Captain Constable, of the Windsor, was tried; his own officers vindicated him from cowardice, but the rest of the charge being clearly proved, he was sentenced to be cashiered, and to be imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure. The next day Captain Wade was tried; and the charge being fully proved by sixteen commission and warrant-officers on-board his own ship, as also that he was drunk during the whole time of the engagement, he, making little or no defence, had the same sentence with Kirby. As for Captain Hudson, who commanded the Pendennis, he died a few days before his trial should have come on, and thereby escaped the fate of Kirby and Wade.

On the 12th came on the trials of Captain Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Fogg, who was captain of the admiral's own ship the Breda, for signing, at the persuasion of Kirby, a paper, containing an obligation on themselves not to fight the French. The fact was clear, and the captains themselves did not dispute it: all they offered in extenuation of their offence was, that they were apprehensive Kirby would have deserted to the enemy, and they took this step to prevent it. But this tale would have hardly passed upon the court-martial, if the admiral himself had not given
some

some weight to their excuses, by declaring, that, however they might be overseen in subscribing that paper, yet they certainly behaved themselves very gallantly in the fight. For the sake of discipline, the court, however, thought fit to suspend them until his royal highness's pleasure should be known. The two captains, who had received sentence of death were sent to England in the Bristol man of war, to have the sentence confirmed by her majesty. The first port they arrived at was Plymouth, where a warrant already lay for their immediate execution. They were therefore shot on-board the ship, without being permitted to go ashore.

The vice-admiral took this miscarriage so much to heart, that he became melancholy; and his grief, co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life.

Marlborough, at his return to London after this campaign, received all the honours that could be conferred, either by a monarchy or republic; he was created a duke by the queen, and, which was still more grateful, received the thanks of both houses of parliament, who sent a deputation of their number to wait upon him, at his house, for that purpose.

The continuance of the parliament, which sat at the time of king's death, was limited to six months after that event. The queen, however, dissolved it before that time, and issued writs for calling a new one. This new parliament was chiefly composed of Tory members: it met on the 20th day of October, 1702, and chose Mr. Harley for their speaker. In the course of this session 3,517,957l. 7s. 2d. were voted for the service of the ensuing year, which, at that time, was considered as an immense sum, though, in after-times, much larger have been granted on the bare probability of a war. It was resolved, that forty thousand seamen should be employed, and the like number of land-forces. Soon after, the queen informed the parliament,



JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Published as the Art directs the Stye



ment, that she was pressed by the allies to augment her forces; and upon this it was resolved that ten thousand more men should be added to the continental army, but on condition that the Dutch should immediately break off all commerce with France and Spain; a condition which was very readily complied with.

In the beginning of April, 1703, the Duke of Marlborough crossed the sea, and, assembling the allied army, opened the campaign with the siege of Bonn, the residence of the Elector of Cologne. It was invested on the 24th of April with the horse, and the next day the duke and General Fagel arrived with the foot. They formed three attacks; the celebrated General Cohorn, who was to have the direction of the siege, arrived there with the bridges and a great number of vessels laden with ammunition. The Duke of Marlborough disposed of the troops in their quarters, and settled the three attacks. General Cohorn commanded the first against the fort on the other side of the Rhine, having with him the Major Generals Friefheim and Elberfeld, and M. de la Rocque, chief engineer; the second attack was commanded by the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, having under his command the Prince of Anhalt Serbst major-general, and Major-general Tetteau, and M. Hazard chief engineer; the third by General Fagel, with the Major-general de Dam and St. Paul, and Colonel Reinhard for his chief engineer. Twelve regiments were assigned to each attack; and on the 27th they were posted within reach. The siege lasted till the 15th of May, when Bonn surrendered to the allies. The Duke having granted them an honourable capitulation, left Bonn on the 17th, and arrived on the 19th in the morning at the camp of Maestricht, in which lay the army of the allies, commanded by Field-marshal d'Auverquerque. He was joined within a few days by the troops who had been employed in the siege of Bonn; and in a short time after by the rest of the army. The
army

army of France, commanded by the Marshals Villeroy and Boufflers, and consisting of fifty-four battalions and a hundred and three squadrons, lay encamped near Tongres. The two armies made several motions: the generals on each side taking the utmost pains to penetrate the designs of the enemy. Those of the Duke of Marlborough were to enter into Brabant. We shall not stay to give an account of all the marches made by the two armies to the 22d of June, that the M. Villeroy took his measures on one side to avoid the coming to a general engagement, and on the other to hinder the Duke of Marlborough from putting his project in execution, which drew on the action at Ekeren, after we had forced the enemies lines in the country of Waes. General Cohorn, General Fagel, and Count Tilly, were ordered to attack these lines: the first of these officers began on one side, while the Baron de Sparre attacked them on the other; although the first had but a very small body of men, yet he met with very little resistance at the post he attacked; as for Baron Sparre, having seven battalions to deal with, it cost him more trouble; he forced them however at last, and entered the lines on that side, so that the French were obliged to abandon them. This action happened near Steck on the 27th of June.

The duke's design, after the forcing of these lines, was to have made himself master of Antwerp, which was possessed by some Spanish troops, under the command of the M. de Bedmar. The two French generals were of opinion, that in order to defeat this project, they should attack the body of troops under the command of the Baron d'Obdam, (who were encamped, to the number of fifteen thousand, between Ekeren and Capel, near Antwerp,) and if it were possible to cut off his retreat, and so prevent any communication between the different bodies of the allied troops. This brought on the battle of Ekeren: the engagement was very brisk in several places, lasting
from

from three in the afternoon until night; its success was often doubtful, till at last, by the indefatigable valour of the Dutch troops, one of the principal posts necessary to our communication, that is the village of Oteren, was taken and kept. The horse commanded by Major-general Hompesch, who, according to the testimonies of the generals in chief, signalized himself in an extraordinary manner in this action, not only remained firm, though exposed for three hours together to the fire of the enemy, which was very great, but at last obliged them to retire. Lieutenant-general Fagel was wounded in the head and in the foot, but not dangerously. Colonel Palland, who commanded the regiment of M. D'Obdam, and Colonel Banditz who had a regiment of Holstein dragoons, were wounded, Colonel Kranenburg was killed on the spot. The French, who about the beginning of the action had taken four pieces of our cannon, were in the end obliged to abandon them, while we on the other hand made ourselves masters of one of their pieces of cannon, some of their ammunition, several pair of kettledrums, two standards, and several colours. In this action the Dutch had 1707 men killed, 1003 wounded, and 694 made prisoners. The French, on the other hand, acknowledged sixteen hundred men killed and wounded; among whom were one hundred and fifty officers. The army of the allies continued all night under arms on the field of battle, and the next morning marched from Oteren to Lillo, without the enemy's attempting to give them the least disturbance.

About this time some jealousy broke out between the Duke of Marlborough and the two Dutch generals, Obdam and Schlangenberg; and, as the Dutch could not at this time disoblige the duke, those two excellent officers were deprived of their commands soon after.

Huy, which is a considerable town in the bishopric of Liege, seated on the Maese, fourteen miles south of

Liege, and seventeen north-east of Namur, had been invested on the 16th of August by Count Noyelles; the forts were taken on the 23d, and the enemy retiring into the castle the batteries were removed, and the cannon brought to play thereupon; on the 25th, the dispositions for an assault being made, the governor caused the chamade to beat, and demanded that the garrison should have leave to march to Namur with the usual marks of honour. This the Duke of Marlborough refused, but offered at the same time, that, if they would lay down their arms, all that belonged to the officers and soldiers should be left them, and they should be exchanged for a like number of our men whenever the M. de Villeroy should desire it. These terms the governor refused; but, the soldiers absolutely persisting in their resolution to surrender, he was obliged to accept them; and so the garrison, consisting of nine hundred men, were made prisoners of war, and the castle, with all the ammunition and provisions therein, put into the hands of the allies on the 29th of August.

On the 10th of September, Limburg was invested by Lieutenant-general Bulau with twenty-four squadrons of horse and dragoons; this city, which is the capital of a duchy, is situate on a rock among shady woods on the river Wesdret, about sixteen miles south-east of Aix la Chapelle. The officer who commanded in that place (which had been dismantled at the peace) had orders to abandon it at the approach of the allies, after blowing up the castle. But he, being surpris'd, was obliged to make some defence. On the 12th the Duke of Marlborough, with the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, marched with fifteen squadrons and twenty-four battalions to the camp before Limburg, where they arriv'd two days after. On the 27th the breach was so wide that the confederates prepared for a general assault, which the French prevented by

a capitulation, whereby the garrison consisting of seven hundred men were made prisoners of war.

During the time this siege continued, the troops of Prussia bombarded Guelders with twenty-nine mortars, and at the same time cannonaded it with forty pieces of cannon: by the 8th of October the place was in so bad a condition, that M. de Bethis who commanded therein desired to capitulate, but they could not agree on the conditions. Hostilities, therefore, were recommenced on the 10th, and the blockade continued to the 17th of December, when M. de Bethis was obliged to capitulate. The Count de Lottum, who commanded the blockade, allowed him two pieces of cannon, and all other marks of honour, with the carriages necessary to convey their baggage to Louvain and Mechlin, whither the garrison was escorted. The surrender of this place secured to the allies the possession of the whole Spanish Guelderland, which was certainly a considerable acquisition; but, as to the place itself, it had been so effectually ruined by the bombardment, that it was very little better than a heap of stones.

After all these advantages, the allies, quitted their old camp, on the 12th of October, and fixed themselves at Bilsen near Tongres; the army of France retired behind its lines. M. Villeroy began to send a part of the troops into winter quarters, and on the 1st of November the army of the allies separated also. And thus ended the campaign of 1703 in the Netherlands, the allies remaining the masters of all Spanish Guelderland, and having secured the country of Liege and the electorate of Cologne from the designs of the enemy. This campaign would probably have been followed by more important consequences, if the Duke of Marlborough had not been restricted by the deputies of the states-general, who began to be influenced by the intrigues of the Louvestein party, which, having formerly opposed a stadtholder, were now equally averse

to the appointment of a single dictator, in the person of the Duke of Marlborough.

Prince Eugene was recalled out of Italy this year, because the conduct of the Elector of Bavaria rendered it probable that the stress of the war would lie in the empire itself; and the emperor, having occasion for a general who might be able to frustrate these attempts, made choice of Prince Eugene. His serene highness arrived at Vienna the 8th of January, and was received by the Emperor Leopold with all the marks of esteem which his great services deserved. Count Mansfeldt, at that time president of the council of war, having desired leave to resign, his Imperial majesty conferred that office on Prince Eugene. His highness applied himself indefatigably to the putting the finances in order, and providing every thing necessary for the support of the armies in Germany, Hungary and Italy.

After the departure of Prince Eugene, the court of France formed a project of employing three separate armies in Italy; one was to be commanded by the Duke de Vendome, another by the grand prior his brother, and the third by the Prince de Vaudemont. These three bodies were to enclose the Imperialists on all sides, who were but a handful of men in comparison of their enemies, and to force their posts. General Staremberg, who commanded the Imperialists in Italy, encamped his troops on the banks of the Secchia, with a resolution to wait there the Duke of Vendome's passing the river and attacking him. That he might be the less incumbered in case of an engagement, he sent the heavy baggage and equipage into the Ferrarese. Such was the disposition of the armies at the beginning of the campaign. However there was nothing done therein by the French answerable in any degree to the preparations they had made. The siege of Bercello took them up a long time; and the Imperialists not only kept their posts, but rendered also abortive the attempt upon Ostiglia, beat General Albergotti near
Mirandola,

Mirandola, and even made inroads into the adjoining country. M. de Vendome was not more happy in his expedition into the Trentine, than in his other enterprises; he was obliged to retire after having bombarded for four days, to no purpose, the city of Trent, and losing before it a considerable number of men. All the consolation he had was to make himself some amends by plundering the country in his retreat.

Though Prince Eugene was not in Italy, yet he did the King of France the greatest mischief, and gave him the most sensible mortification, by the rupture of the Duke of Savoy, who, by his highness's management, deserted about this time the interests of France and Spain, and concluded a treaty with the emperor. Peter II. King of Portugal, also joined the grand alliance. Marshal de Villars, the favourite hero of Louis XIV. commanded this year in Germany. He passed the Rhine, reduced fort Kehl; then, joining his troops with those of Bavaria, he took Brisac, and obtained a decisive victory over Prince Louis of Baden. However, though the French were generally successful on the Rhine, yet several of the generals of the allies gained great glory by their gallant behaviour on that side. Count Stirum and General Schlick made an inroad into Bavaria, where the first forced the lines of Diffort, and the other surprised the little town of Rieth, and both did wonders in the fight at Scharding, and at the first battle of Hochstet. The hereditary Prince of Hesse, afterwards King of Sweden, sustained, with great bravery, the attack of the Marshal Tallard, near Spire; and, if he was obliged to retire, it was because the greatest valour cannot make head against a superior force. The Count de Thungen, who commanded the army of the empire, defeated all the designs of the enemy, as far as it was possible for a general to do who was in every thing. The Prince of Baden distinguished himself on the Rhine and on the Danube. Count d'Arco defended himself three weeks

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in Brisac, and the Count de Frieze more than a month in Landau, which he did not surrender till after the advantage the enemy gained in the battle of Spire.

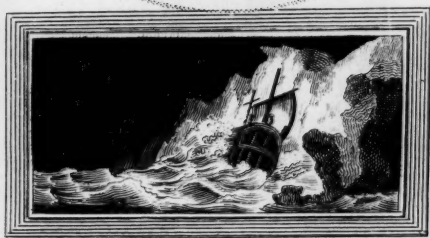
Nothing very remarkable happened at sea during the summer of the year 1703. Sir George Rooke cruised in the channel in order to alarm the coast of France, and protect the trade of England. The grand fleet was commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel: it consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line; and, under him, were Rear-admiral Byng and Sir Stafford Fairborne: this force was afterwards augmented by eight ships, which were commanded by Vice-admiral Leake. It was not until the middle of June, that the Dutch fleet joined, which amounted to no more than twelve ships, carrying three flags.

On the 1st of July the combined fleet sailed from St. Helen's, and proceeded to the Mediterranean, whither they escorted the Turkey fleet, and accompanied it to the coast of Italy. The fleet then put into Leghorn to procure water. On the 22d of September the admiral appeared before Altea, on the coast of the province of Valentia, where Brigadier Seymour landed, and encamped with 2500 marines. The admiral published a short manifesto, signifying, that he was not come to disturb, but to protect, the good subjects of Spain, who should swear allegiance to their lawful monarch the Archduke Charles, and endeavour to shake off the yoke of France: but this declaration produced little or no effect. One design of this armament was to assist the Cevennois, inhabitants of the province of Languedoc, who, being protestants, had been persecuted into a revolt, and implored the assistance of the maritime powers. The admiral detached two of his ships, the Tartar and the Pembroke, into the gulph of Narbonne, with some refugees and French pilots, who had concerted signals with the Cevennois; but the Marshal de Montreville, who commanded the French troops employed to reduce them, had

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J. Chapman sculp.

ADMIRAL SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL. ~

Published as the Act directs, Oct. 1796.

had so effectually occupied the passes that led to their mountainous recesses from the sea-coast, that no assistance could be rendered them; and the English captains having repeated their signals to no purpose, rejoined their admiral. Whilst the admiral lay at Leghorn, he detached Captain Swanton to Tunis and Tripoli, and sent Rear-admiral Byng to Algiers, to renew the peace with those piratical states, and then returned to England. On the 16th day of November, the fleet being off the Isle of Wight, Captain Norris, (afterwards Sir John Norris,) in the Orford, a ship of the third rate, together with the Warspight of seventy guns, and the Litchfield of fifty, being a-head of the fleet, gave chase to a French ship of war, and, beginning to engage about eight o'clock at night, the firing continued till two in the morning, when the Frenchman struck. She was homeward bound from Newfoundland, was larger than an English sixty-gun ship, but mounted only fifty guns, and had on board 370 men; she was called the Hazardous, and was commanded by M. de la Rue.

While the grand fleet rode in the Mediterranean, the admiralty-council received intelligence, that a considerable fleet of French merchant-ships, with their convoy, were in Cancalle Bay, near St. Maloes; orders were therefore sent to Rear-admiral Dilkes, who was then at Spithead with a small squadron, to sail immediately in pursuit of them, which he did on the 22d of July. On the 24th he ordered the captain of the Nonsuch to stretch a-head of the squadron, and stand as near Alderney as possible, and send his boat ashore to gain intelligence. On the 25th he stood towards the Casquets for the same purpose, and at six in the evening anchored off the south-west part of Jersey; from whence he sent Captain Chamberlain, commander of the Spy brigantine, to the governor, in order to procure the best intelligence. The governor sent to him Captains Lamprier and Pipon, who well understood

stood that coast, by whom being informed of a fleet about forty sail, plying to the windward, on the 15th, to get to Granville, the rear-admiral, upon consultation, at a council of war, with the pilots, resolved to sail immediately, though the tide fell cross in the night, that, getting clear of the westernmost rocks of the Minques, he might attack the enemy, by break of day, the next morning; accordingly, perceiving the enemy at anchor about a league to the westward of Granville, at break of day they, upon his approach, got under sail, and stood in for the shore. The rear-admiral followed them as far as the pilot would venture, and found them to consist of forty-three merchant-ships, and three men of war. Being come within four feet water more than the ship drew, he manned all the boats of his fleet. By noon he took fifteen sail, burnt six, and sunk three; the rest stood so far into a bay, between Avranché and the mount St. Michael, that the pilots thought it rash to attack them; whereupon, on the 27th in the morning, it was resolved, at a council of war, to go into the bay with the Hector, Mermaid, a fire-ship, the Spy brigantine, a ship of six guns, taken the day before from the enemy, a ketch fitted as a fire-ship, and all the boats of the squadron, which was performed between ten and eleven in the morning. There were three ships equipped for war; one of eighteen guns, which the enemy burnt; the second of fourteen guns, which Mr. Paul, first lieutenant of the Kent, set on fire, who in this service was shot through the lower jaw, and had four men killed; and a third of eight guns, which was brought off. Seventeen more of the merchant-ships were burnt and destroyed, so that, of the whole fleet, only four escaped, by getting under the command of Granville fort. The enemy, during this attack, sent several large shallops from Granville, but with no success, the rear-admiral having manned a brigantine with eighty men, and another vessel, of six guns, with forty, who covered

covered all the boats. This last vessel unfortunately ran aground, which obliged the rear-admiral to burn her. During the time of this action, about five thousand of the enemy appeared on-shore, but they remained quiet spectators of the devastation committed on the French ships, for they made no advances to attack the English. For this signal service the queen ordered gold medals to be struck, and presented to Dilkes and all his officers.

In the West Indies no advantages were gained during the year 1703. Sir George Rooke, in the preceding year, had detached, from the Mediterranean, Captain Hovenden Walker, with six third-rate men of war and transports, having on-board four regiments of soldiers, for the Leeward Islands. Being joined at Antigua by some troops under Colonel Coddington, they made a descent upon the island of Guadaloupe, where they razed the fort, burnt the town, ravaged the country, and then re-embarked with precipitation, in consequence of a report, that the French had landed nine hundred men on the back of the island.

When the news of Benbow's death reached England, Vice-admiral Graydon was sent out with three ships of the line, to take the command of the fleet in that station; a fifty and a sixty gun ship were ordered to accompany the admiral one hundred and fifty leagues beyond Cape Clear; whilst they were pursuing this course, they descried four French men-of-war to leeward. The admiral threw out the signal for a line of battle, but the French ships, although foul, (for they were part of M. du Cassé's squadron, which Admiral Benbow had engaged,) outailed the English, and escaped. Graydon kept on his track, without crowding sail to overtake the enemy; and on the 12th day of May arrived at Barbadoes, where he was informed of the distressed situation of the fleet and troops that had quitted Guadaloupe, and were then at Nevis. Having collected all the supplies that the island could furnish,

he failed to their relief, which having very seasonably effected, he proceeded to Jamaica, and arrived there on the 4th day of June. There he quarrelled with the principal planters of the island; and his ships beginning to be crazy, and their masts, stores, and rigging, very defective, and the whole fleet ill-manned, resolved to return to England. Accordingly, having left some ships to protect that island, he proceeded with the rest through the gulph of Florida, designing to attack the French at Placentia, in Newfoundland. He fell in with the coast on the 2d day of August, in the evening of which day so intense a fog arose, that the like had scarcely ever been known even there, where fogs prevail more than in any other part of the known world: it continued during thirty days, and caused the fleet to be so dispersed, that it could not be assembled again until the 3d day of September; when the vice-admiral called a council of war, to deliberate on the expediency of attempting to reduce Placentia, and thereby entirely dispossess the French of Newfoundland. It appeared, that the ships were in a bad condition, thinly manned, their crews sickly, a scarcity of provisions, and the men already at short allowance; the soldiers rendered unfit for service, by the severity of the climate, which had reduced five regiments to one thousand and thirty-five men; and farther, the reinforcement which was expected from New England had failed: whilst, on the other hand, the French at Placentia were supposed to exceed in number those that were to attack them; besides which, the approaches were to be carried on with great disadvantage of ground; this state of affairs led the council unanimously to resolve, that to make an attempt on that place, with their shipping and force, at that advanced season, was highly unwarrantable, as, instead of any probability of success presenting itself, it was likely to issue in the dishonour of her majesty's arms. Hereupon Graydon
returned

returned to England, without having procured any advantages to his country, or any glory to himself.

Among the occurrences of this year we have to speak of a calamity of a very uncommon kind. In the night of the 26th of November, the most violent tempest ever known in England suddenly arose. The wind blowing from the south-west, with incredible force and noise, was accompanied with flashes of lightning, and peals of thunder, which threw the southern part of the kingdom, where its fury was chiefly felt, into consternation: it continued from about eleven o'clock at night to seven the next morning. The houses in London shook from their foundations. Many of them fell, and buried the inhabitants in their ruins; and those which escaped were stripped of their tiles. The water overflowed several streets, and rose to a considerable height in Westminster-hall: London-bridge was almost choaked up with the wrecks of vessels that perished in the river. The loss sustained by the capital was computed at a million sterling; and the city of Bristol suffered to a prodigious amount: but the chief national damage fell upon the navy. Thirteen ships of war were lost, together with fifteen hundred seamen, including Rear-admiral Beaumont, who was then at anchor in the Downs, where his ships foundered. However, this loss was repaired with incredible diligence: for the queen immediately issued orders for building a greater number of ships than those which had been destroyed; and exercised her bounty for the relief of ship-wrecked seamen, and the widows of those who were drowned, in a manner that endeared her to all her subjects. The storm which proved so fatal to England, was felt with equal severity in Holland: the dykes having been broken down in Friezeland by the violence of the waves, one-fourth part of that province was laid under water; and a squadron of men of war, under Admiral Calemberg, was driven from the mouth of the Texel to the coast of Norway.

The parliament met, as usual, in November, and great unanimity prevailed. The necessary provision for maintaining the war by sea and land, during the next year, was cheerfully and liberally made. The treaties concluded since the recess, and the estimates of the army and navy, being laid before the house, they voted, that forty thousand men, including five thousand marines, should be employed for the sea-service of 1704; and that four pounds a man, each month, allowing thirteen for the year, should be granted for the maintenance of that force.

The important transactions which distinguished the summer of the year 1704 on the continent were conspicuous and decisive. Marlborough had, in the beginning of the year, visited Holland, and concerted the operations of the campaign with the States, after which he returned to England before the prorogation of parliament. When the season for action approached, he embarked at Harwich, to put the grand army of the allies in motion. The success of the two last campaigns having put the confederates in possession of the Maese and Spanish Guelderland, such a strong barrier was formed on the side of Flanders, that a small number of forces were thought sufficient to protect the States against all assaults. The duke was therefore left at liberty to lead the army into the heart of Germany, to retrieve the affairs of the emperor, whose situation had become desperate, through the progress made by the joint force of the French and Bavarians, which almost threatened his capital. Nor were these the only enemies which Leopold had to encounter. The Hungarians becoming discontented with the government, Prince Ragotski headed the malcontents, who took up arms, and being supported by France and Turkey, became formidable to the state.

The states of Holland had given the duke full powers to march as he thought proper, with assurances of their assistance in all his endeavours. The French king, finding Boufflers no longer capable of opposing
 Marlborough,

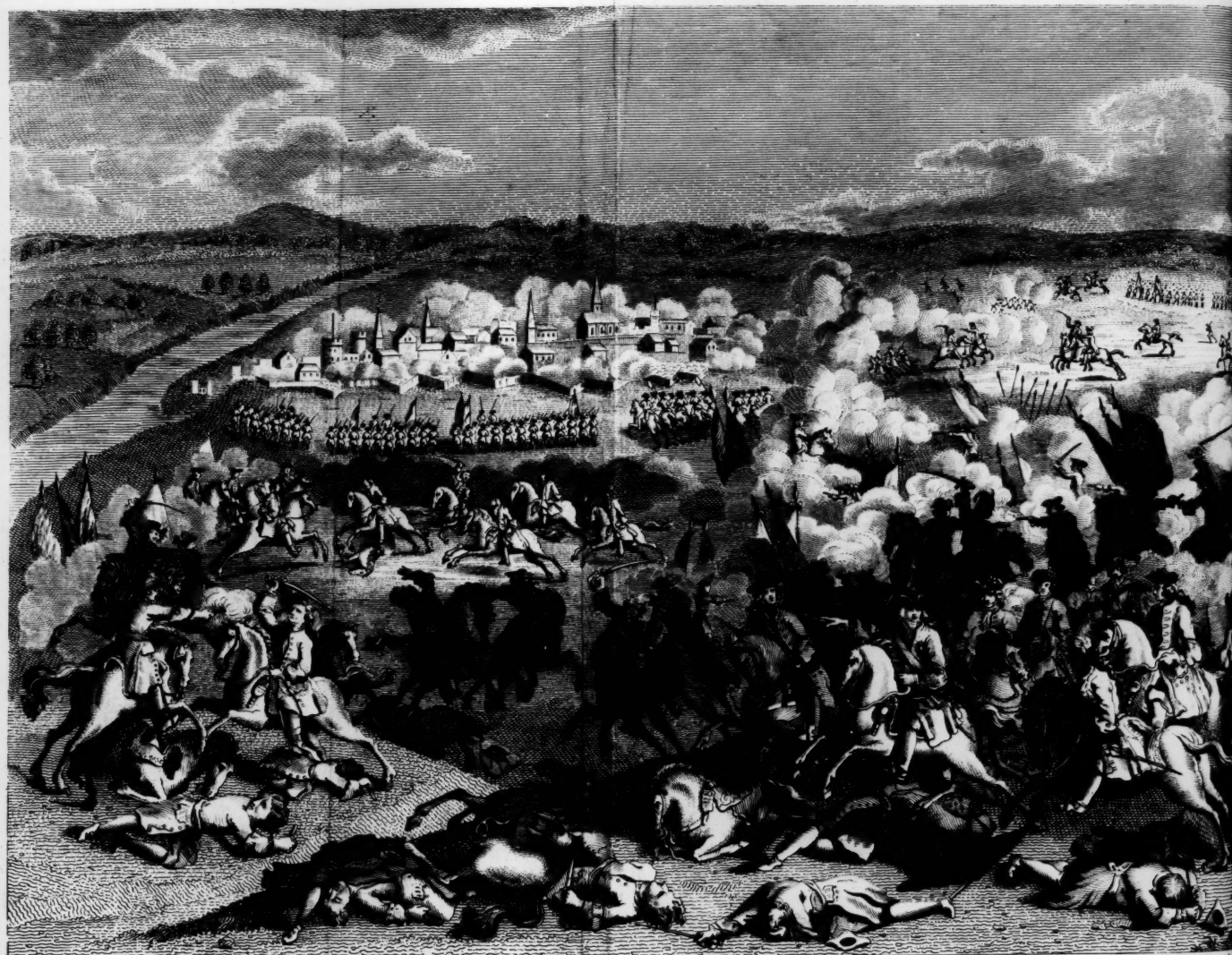
Marlborough, appointed the Marshal de Villeroy to command in his place. But Marlborough, who, like Hannibal of old, was remarkable for studying the dispositions of his antagonists, having no great fears from Villeroy, immediately flew to the assistance of the emperor. Yet he took his measures so secretly, that Villeroy, who at first attempted to follow his motions, seemed all at once to have lost sight of the enemy; nor was he apprised of his route till informed of his successes.

The Duke of Marlborough thus traversed extensive countries by hasty marches, and was joined by Prince Eugene, at the head of the Imperialists. On the 28th of June, his camp was formed within two leagues of the Elector of Bavaria's army. The troops of the allies consisted of ninety-six battalions of foot, and two hundred and two squadrons of horse and dragoons, provided with forty-four pieces of field cannon, four howitzers, and twenty-four pontoons. The force of the enemy was inferior in point of numbers, consisting only of eighty-eight battalions of foot, and one hundred and sixty squadrons of horse; but they had ninety pieces of cannon, forty mortars and howitzers, and thirty pontoons. It was resolved, in a council of war, to attack the Elector of Bavaria's lines, which were drawn near the strong town of Donawert, on the Danube. Marlborough, at the head of three English battalions, led to the attack; the contest continued two hours; at length the English forced their way, and drove their enemies before them. The loss on each side, in this desperate action, was considerable, and very equal; five hundred English being slain, and as many of the Bavarians and French. The duke, by this event, obtained many important advantages: he became master of the banks of the Danube, and of the bridge across that river, by which means he cut off the communication between the troops of the enemy, which were stationed on the Upper and Lower Danube; and the Electorate of Bavaria became exposed to

to the ravages of the victors. Soon after Marshal Tallard, at the head of three thousand French troops, joined the elector, and stopped the farther progress of the confederates.

The French army, including Bavarians, now consisted of near sixty thousand men; Marlborough was at the head of about fifty-two thousand troops, that had been accustomed to conquer, and had seen the French, the Turks, and the Russians, fly before them. Though the allies possessed the banks of the Danube, they were little able to draw sufficient supplies from their magazines, or to penetrate into Bavaria; so that they earnestly sought an opportunity of bringing on a general engagement, for which purpose they attentively watched every motion of the enemy. The evil destiny of France, the ignorance and haughtiness of her generals, the Marshals Tallard and Marsin, together with the vehemence of the elector himself, at length presented the wished-for opportunity. As this battle, called the battle of Blenheim, or Hockstet, both from the talents of the generals, the improvements in the art of war, the number and discipline of the troops, and the greatness of the contending powers, is reckoned the most remarkable of this century, it demands a particular detail.

On the 13th of August, at break of day, the whole army put itself in full march in eight columns, the Imperialists in the right, the English and Dutch in the left. A ninth column was soon after formed, consisting of two brigades which had been posted at Tiffingen, and fifteen squadrons which took the left of the whole. They continued their march in this order till they reached the village of Sweiningen, where they made a halt, and where the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene caused the general officers to repair to them, where they received the necessary orders. It was by this time six o'clock in the morning, and it did not appear that the enemy had any thoughts of a battle;
for



The Battle of Blenheim?

London Published as the Act directs 1st Nov. 1796.

for on sight of the allies they fired two pieces of cannon to recal their foragers, beat the generale, then the assembly, and ran to their arms in a hurry. While they were forming at the head of their camp, the army of the allies were crossing the plain, and having behind them the villages of Wolperfelde, Schweinebach and Achberg, they stretched their left to the morafs near Greinheim, and pushed their right on the other side of the plain, as far as they were able to extend it. The right, composed of Imperial troops, either properly so called, or auxiliaries, had Prince Eugene at their head, and under him, as generals of the horse, Prince Maximilian of Hanover, the Count de la Tour, and the Duke of Wirtemberg; and for general of the foot the Prince of Anhalt Dessau. The English and Dutch formed the left wing under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, who had under him for generals the Hereditary Prince of Hesse and General Churchill. He had also a small corps of cavalry in reserve; the whole consisting of no more than sixty-seven battalions and a hundred and eighty-one squadrons.

The enemy were also drawn up in two lines on the bank of a river or rivulet, which separated them from the allies, the right wing commanded by the Marshal Tallard, and the left by the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Marfin. Their army consisted of eighty-four battalions, and a hundred and fifty squadrons; so that, according to the calculation of Lieutenant-general Count Hompesch, they were superior to the allies by 4220 men. But they would not have been so, if the whole army had been there, part of it being employed in the siege of Ingoldstadt, under the command of Prince Lewis of Baden. It is true that the enemy had not there all their forces neither; the army on the Rhine commanded by the Marshal Villeroy consisted of upwards of 16,000 men; 10,000 lay at Dutlingen under his proper command, and 6000 in the lines under the Count de Coigni. He had also sent back
into

into the Netherlands 8000 men under the command of the Marquis d'Alegre.

By eight o'clock in the morning the two armies fronted each other within cannon-shot, and separated only by the rivulet aforementioned. The French were possessed of four villages well fortified and full of men: Blenheim, situated at the extremity of the right upon the Danube; Lutzingen, at the extremity of their left towards the wood; Oberklau, in the very centre of their army; and Onderklau, on the other side of the rivulet, almost at an equal distance from the two first-mentioned places. Two mills standing on the same rivulet pretty near its mouth, defended the passage on that side, and served as redoubts to the village of Blenheim. The first thing that was to be done in order to remove these obstacles, was the throwing bridges over this rivulet. The English established five, and afterwards a sixth, notwithstanding the enemy's cannon, which fired continually, in order to hinder them. They fired with the same violence on their left, and the Imperialists suffered very much from ten o'clock, when their fire seemed to be redoubled, till twelve, when orders were given for a general attack.

At one o'clock the whole army advanced towards the enemy, and the attack was begun on the side of the English, with the two mills on the rivulet: this was performed by General Wilks at the head of two brigades, sustained by twenty battalions, under the command of Lord Cuts. They were soon carried, for the enemy did not think fit to garrison them; they even abandoned the village of Onderklau, after having set it on fire, and the English immediately lodged themselves therein.

These advantages favoured the passage of the left over the rivulet, but did not leave it entirely free. They were obliged to sustain a very long and brisk fire. The Danes, the English, and the Hanoverians, posted on the right of the left, having passed the rivulet at Onderklau,

Onderklau, were charged so warmly by the enemy, that they were forced to repass it again; they returned however, being supported by a good body of infantry, but were obliged a second time to retreat. The third time they kept their ground, and the Prince of Holsteinbeck advanced as far as the village of Oberklau, in pursuit of the enemy, but his bravery had not the success it deserved. Eight or nine battalions environed and put to the sword three or four Dutch regiments which he led, amongst others that of Goor, of which there did not escape sixty men; the prince himself received several wounds, and was taken prisoner, but they afterwards left him because they could not carry him off.

The Imperialists found no less difficulty on the right than the English and Dutch on the left. The ground on that side being embarrassed with brambles, hedges, and other incumbrances, there was no marching by columns, so they advanced as well as they could to the rivulet, and passed it, the foot on the right, and the cavalry on the left; the enemy not making the least motion to oppose them. They were ranged in order of battle on the eminence whereon the village of Lutzingen is situated; they were still possessed of that village, and had there a great battery which commanded all the country before it. There was a necessity of attacking them in this advantageous post. The infantry, composed of seven Danish battalions and eleven battalions of Prussians, marched to the fight with all the alacrity imaginable. The cavalry also charged with a great deal of vigour, but without success; they were repulsed, and the Prussian battalions were thereby left uncovered, so that the enemy took them in flank, and put them into great disorder, especially the two battalions which were most exposed. It was not however till after a long resistance that they were entirely broke, which obliged the rest to retire as well as they could towards the wood from whence they came, where they

endeavoured to form. The cavalry in the mean time rallied and returned to the charge, and made in their turn such an impression on the enemy's horse, that, if the infantry had been able to second them, the victory had not long been doubtful; but they were all in confusion, and it was above an hour before they could be put into order. By that time the cavalry were again repulsed, and all advantages were evidently on the side of the enemy. The presence of the Elector of Bavaria contributed very much to this, it being of the utmost importance to him to gain this battle, the loss of which he had reason to fear would be attended with the loss of his dignity, his dominions, and all that he had in the world. But the principal cause of the enemy's superiority on this occasion was their number: they had thirty battalions in their left, whereas the allies had but eighteen in their right. Their cavalry was also more numerous, and their situation extremely advantageous. Besides this, the village of Oberklau favoured them exceedingly. It was seated, as we said before, in the very centre of their army, and flanked equally their right and their left. If the French or Bavarian squadrons were at any time pushed, they found here an easy and secure retreat; but, if the Imperialists or English gave way in the least, they had immediately a shower of musquet-balls in their backs, for the infantry posted there acted as if they had been in ambuscade. It was of the utmost importance therefore to drive the enemy from that post, and we have already seen the English and Dutch attempt it in vain. In a second attack, when supported by a reserve of the Imperial cavalry, they succeeded better. They did not gain the post indeed; but they kept those within it besieged, so that their own troops could now march before it, and attack the cavalry of the enemy with greater liberty. They pushed them so briskly and so far, that in spite of a second rivulet called the Meulweyr, the village of Blenheim was entirely cut off from the enemy's

enemy's army. Upon this the Duke of Marlborough caused it to be invested and attacked on the one side by General Churchill, and on the other by Lord Cuts and Major-general Wilks.

In the mean time Prince Eugene made a third charge; more firm, and at the same time more brisk, than either of the former; the cavalry however were repulsed again, but the infantry met with less resistance; the Bavarians gave way, and by little and little lost ground, fighting still as they retired; they lost also their cannon, and were very near being surrounded in the village of Lutzingen.

The elector, now fearing the loss of every thing, caused fire to be set to this village, and to that of Oberklau, and then retired with his troops; his infantry threw themselves into a wood, and his cavalry retired by Monchelingen behind a third rivulet, the sides of which were marshy, and which passes from thence towards the Danube, into which it falls a little below Hochstedt. The Imperialists, having rallied, followed them continually fighting and killing a great number in this retreat, but they were not able to break these troops, so that the elector saved his wing from that total destruction which threatened it, and which had already over-taken the forces on the right.

Fear and consternation had now seized the French troops. On the right they were not only frightened, but grew incapable of direction; they no longer understood commands or obedience, they knew neither way nor road; they gave themselves up for lost, and suffered the English to drive them about like flocks of sheep. An entire body of four thousand cavalry, which had the highest reputation amongst them, carried off Marshal Tallard in their flight, and, without considering what they did, or wherefore, threw themselves by whole squadrons into the Danube, horses and men, officers as well as soldiers; some got over, but the far greater part were drowned; and the marshal, finding

it impossible to stop this frantic resolution, yielded himself prisoner with some other general officers who were about him. The other troops on the right were in like manner broken and routed by the English and Dutch, but they rallied behind the village of Monchelingen, and joined the Bavarians; those who were most nimble saved themselves, the others as they rallied formed into small corps; amongst others two brigades, composed of eight battalions, were left behind. These, depending on the support of the cavalry on their flanks, engaged the allies again, but their horse abandoned them; they then made an effort to join the troops in the village of Blenheim, but they were charged in their passage, and almost all put to the sword.

The allies were now masters of the field, and surrounded the village of Blenheim, where a body of thirteen thousand men had been posted in the beginning of the action, and still kept their ground. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of the army, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. This was one of the most complete victories that was ever obtained. Twelve thousand French and Bavarians were slain in the field, or drowned in the Danube; thirteen thousand were made prisoners of war. Of the allies about five thousand were killed, and eight thousand wounded or taken.

The loss of the battle is imputed to two capital errors committed by Marshal Tallard; first weakening the centre, by detaching such a number of troops to the village of Blenheim, and then suffering the confederates to pass the rivulet, and form unmolested. When the Duke of Marlborough, the next day, visited his prisoner, the marshal paid him the compliment of having overcome the best troops in the world. "I hope, sir," replied the duke, "you will except those by whom they were conquered." The Elector of Bavaria, and Marshal Marsin, though not absolutely routed,

routed, retired with every mark of a defeat, under the cover of night, to Ulm, where they continued only the next day ; still retreating, they directed their route through the Black Forest, and at length joined Marshal Villeroi on the Rhine.

The consequences which followed this memorable victory had all the importance which might have been expected from so decisive a blow. The conquests and dominions of the Elector of Bavaria fell at once into the hands of the emperor, who retaliated severely upon the subjects of that prince the excesses which had been committed on the Imperialists. A country, seventy leagues in extent, was exposed to all the ravages and miseries which incensed conquerors were disposed to commit. The French, ruined, broken, and dispersed, left a free and uninterrupted march to the confederates, from the Danube to the Rhine. The remains of an army, which at the beginning of the campaign, spread terror even to the gates of Vienna, were now forced to take shelter within the kingdom of France.

While the rear of the army of the allies cleared Bavaria of the remains of the elector's forces, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene followed the army of France in its retreat, leaving in the neighbourhood of Landau a body of troops under the command of Prince Louis of Baden, in order to reduce that important fortress. Laubanie commanded in this place, where he had twelve battalions and some troops of horse. He made all the necessary dispositions for a long and vigorous defence ; and though he lost his fight on the 11th of October, by a bomb's breaking near him, which covered him with earth and stones, yet he held out the place upwards of sixty days. The Prince of Baden invested it on the ninth of September ; Prince Eugene drew near it on the twelfth with another part of the Imperial army, and the Duke of Marlborough covered the siege with the English and Dutch troops under his command. On the 22d the king of

the Romans (afterwards the Emperor Joseph) arrived in the camp before the place, so that it was under his auspices the siege was afterwards carried on, of which it would be needless to give a journal here, because nothing very extraordinary happened. On the 25th of November the capitulation was signed, the garrison being then reduced to between 1500 and 1800 men, who received however all the honours due to so brave a defence. During this important siege, the Duke of Marlborough made himself master of Treves; and sent afterwards the Baron de Trogné to besiege Traarbach, the castle of which made a stout defence, but was obliged in the end to submit. It was the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel who had the glory of this conquest, which was attended with great difficulty. Thus ended the campaign in Germany and Alsace.

In Flanders the campaign was spent inactively. Auverquerque, who commanded the allies on the frontiers of Holland, bombarded Namur, without effect, in the month of July. This was the only attempt which was made, both sides acting on the defensive.

The transactions at sea this year (1704) were equally brilliant and successful.---Charles, the archduke of Austria, being declared King of Spain by the emperor his father, and acknowledged as such by the allies, Sir George Rooke was sent to Holland, in order to escort him to Lisbon. The young prince, who was second son to Leopold, set out from Vienna to Holland, and, at Dusseldorp was visited by the Duke of Marlborough, who, in the name of his mistress, congratulated him upon his accession to the crown of Spain. The new king received him with every mark of esteem, and, taking his own sword from his side, presented it to the English general, saying; "Sir, I am not ashamed to own myself a poor prince: I possess nothing but my cloak and my sword: the latter may be of use to your grace; and I hope you will not think it the worse for having been worn by me one day." "On the contrary,"

trary," replied the duke, "it will always put me in mind of your majesty's just right and title, and of the obligations I lie under to hazard my life in making you the greatest prince in Christendom." The duke returned to England in October, but the king continuing longer on the continent, the tempest we have described retarded, for some short time, his proceeding to England as he intended, in his way to Portugal. The English ships, which lay in the Maese, suffered considerably; some were stranded and lost. The damage however was, in some measure, repaired, in the course of three weeks; and on the 23d of December, Charles III. embarked for England, escorted by the English and Dutch squadrons. He arrived at Spithead on the 26th, where he was received by the Dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor, where her majesty received him with great magnificence. Having continued there three days, he repaired again to Portsmouth, and sailed from Spithead on the 5th of January, with a favourable wind; but a storm arising in the Bay of Biscay, when the admiral had nearly reached Cape Finisterre, the fleet was dispersed, and driven back to the Channel. Sir George Rooke, who had the King of Spain on-board his ship, returned to St. Helen's on the 20th of the same month; and, although the utmost dispatch was used to refit the ships, it was the 12th of February before fleet again put to sea, and it reached the Tagus on the 25th.

Soon after Sir George Rooke had sailed, the English ministry were informed that the French were very busy in fitting out a powerful fleet at Brest, under the command of the Count de Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, and a natural son of Louis XIV. This occasioned great uneasiness, as its destination could not be divined. At all events it was thought proper to equip, with the utmost expedition, a strong fleet, which was put under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, admiral of the white, who had under him Sir Stafford Fairborne,

Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, and George Byng, Esq. then rear-admiral of the same squadron. The admiral was instructed, if he found the Brest squadron still in port, to send away the trade, store-ships, and victuallers, under a proper convoy, to Lisbon, and to remain before that port himself to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or, if that was found impracticable, to burn and destroy them if they came out. But in case he found the Brest squadron sailed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to judge what strength might be necessary to be sent to Sir George Rooke; and, if it amounted to twenty-two ships, then he was to sail with them himself, that our fleet might, at all events, be stronger than that of the enemy. Sir Cloudesley executed his instructions punctually, and, finding that a great strength was necessary in the Mediterranean to oppose the French, he sailed thither about the latter end of May. Sir George Rooke, in the mean time, sailed, with the transports under his convoy, for Barcelona, it being the opinion of the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, that the Catalonians would declare for the house of Austria, as soon as they should be assured of proper support and protection. On the 19th of May the admiral landed his troops, which amounted to two thousand, and were commanded by the Prince of Hesse; at the same time the Dutch ketches bombarded the place. The troops remained on-shore all night, but the governor having taken care to secure all such as adhered to the house of Austria, none of the Spaniards resorted to the standard of Charles III. These unfavourable appearances led his highness to re-embark the troops the day following, from an apprehension of their being attacked and overpowered by superior numbers.

On the 21st of May the admiral steered for the Isles of Hieres, but in their passage met with a storm, which separated the fleet. On the 27th they joined again, and had sight of a large French squadron, which

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was steering for Toulon; and therefore it was resolved, in a council of war, to chase them thither, and if it was not possible to prevent their getting into that port, then to sail for Lisbon, in order to wait for a reinforcement; which was accordingly done. On the 14th of June our fleet passed through the Streights mouth, and were joined, two days after, by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with his squadron, off Lagos: a council of war was then called, in order to consider what service should be proceeded on. Several schemes were proposed, particularly a second attack on Cadiz, which was soon found to be impracticable, for want of a sufficient number of land forces.

On the 17th day of July the admiral called a council of war, in the road of Tetuan, wherein it was resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar. This important fortress, from its natural advantages, seemed to bid defiance to all the attacks of an enemy: it was however known to be very weakly garrisoned, and the surprize which such an unexpected assault would spread, might powerfully operate to its success. The harbour is formed by a mole, which the Spaniards had fortified and planted with guns. It is accessible only on the land-side, by a narrow passage between the rocks and the sea, which was walled and fortified. It had but two gates on that side, and as many towards the sea. Across this isthmus the Spaniards had drawn a fortified line.

On the 21st day of July, the fleet entered the bay of Gibraltar, and the marines, both English and Dutch, amounting to eighteen hundred men, were landed on the isthmus, under the command of the Prince of Hesse; thereby all communication between the town and the continent was cut off. A message was sent to the governor, summoning him to surrender the place to Charles III. he answered, that he had sworn allegiance to Philip, and that he would defend the place for him. Hereupon Admiral Byng, and the

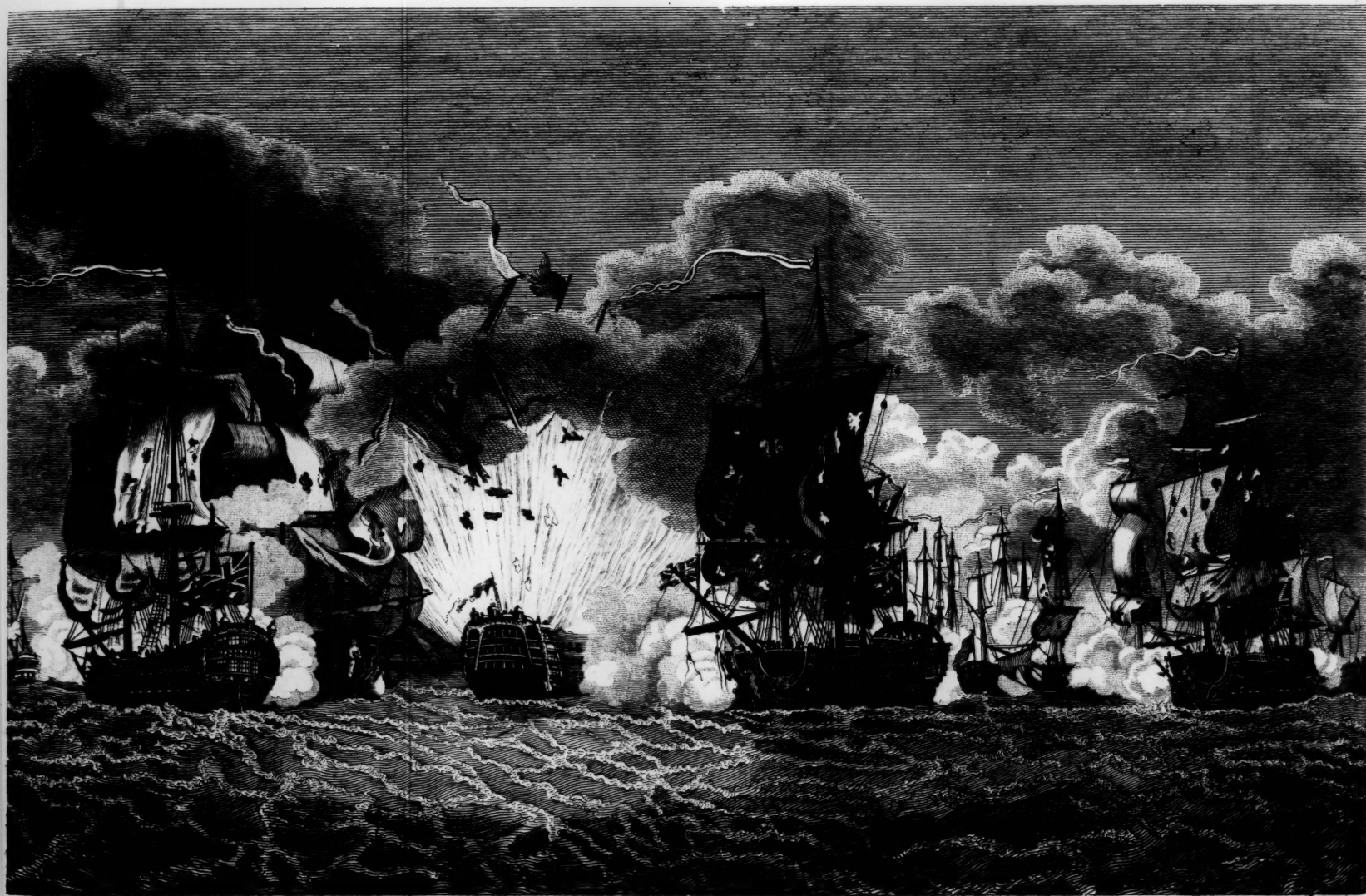
Dutch admiral Vander Dussen, were directed, with their ships, to cannonade the town, and Captain Hicks was appointed to act against the south-mole. A French privateer, of twelve guns, lay under the old mole, which Captain Whittaker was commissioned to destroy, which he effected on the 22d: the same day, at the first dawn of light, the signal was given for cannonading the town, which was performed with such vigour, that fifteen thousand shot were spent in five hours; the admiral perceiving that enemy were thereby driven from their fortifications at the south-mole-head, gave orders to Captain Whittaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. Immediately the Captains Hicks and Jumper, who were nearest the mole, manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The Spaniards, to check this ardour, sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about sixty wounded; notwithstanding this, the two captains kept possession of the great platform, till they were sustained by Captain Whittaker, and a body of seamen under his command, who took, by storm, a redoubt between the mole and the town. On this the admiral again summoned the governor to surrender, who, finding the bravery of the assailants to be irresistible, capitulated on the 24th. The same day the Prince of Hesse marched into the town. Besides the natural strength of the place, the town was defended by one hundred guns mounted; it was also well supplied with ammunition, but the garrison consisted of no more than one hundred men. The French writers inveigh against this astonishing negligence in Spain, to suffer a place of such importance to be so weakly manned; however, in the opinion of officers who have seen the works, fifty men might have defended them against thousands; and the attack made by the seamen was brave almost beyond example. Only sixty men were killed in this enterprize, of which were two lieutenants and

one master; two hundred and sixteen were wounded, among whom were one captain, seven lieutenants, and a boatswain. As the attack was projected by the admirals, so was it executed entirely by the seamen; so that the whole honour of the achievement is justly due to them. Sir George Rooke leaving the Prince of Hesse with as large a garrison as he could spare, at Gibraltar, passed over, with the fleet, to Tetuan, there to take in wood and water. The Marquis de Quincy remarks, that, though Gibraltar was taken for King Charles III. yet it was never put into his possession, but has been ever since kept by the English, who, to say the truth, continues he, have dearly purchased it, since it has cost them more pounds sterling than there are stones in the fortifications; but the advantages derived, in time of war, from the possession of this key to the Mediterranean, fully compensate England for all the expence which has been incurred by keeping it.

Meantime King Charles was by no means successful by land in Portugal. He had with him eight thousand English and Dutch troops, but his competitor Philip V. at the head of twenty thousand French, carried the war into that kingdom early in the spring. Several places fell into his hands; and in various skirmishes, the Portuguese were worsted. Affairs wore this unfavourable aspect in Portugal, from an unhappy misunderstanding which had arisen between the King of Portugal and the Duke of Schomberg, who commanded the English and Dutch auxiliaries, which arose to such a height, that the queen recalled that nobleman, and appointed the Earl of Galloway to succeed him. The King of Portugal and Charles III. having made an unsuccessful attempt to cross the river Agueda, and penetrate into Castile by crossing the kingdom of Leon, were at length forced to retreat before the Duke of Berwick, into the heart of Portugal.---But to return,

Rooke, having supplied the fleet at Tetuan, got under sail on the 9th of August, and the same day came within sight of the French fleet, as it was entering the Mediterranean, and proceeding to Malaga, where the commander expected some gallies to join him. On the 13th the combined fleet came within three leagues of the French, who brought to, with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, and, forming a line, lay in a posture to receive the attack. It had been thought, till then, that the French declined an action; but now it was found, that they had only deferred it until the gallies from Malaga had joined them. In this memorable battle, the confederate fleet consisted together of three-and-fifty ships of the line, and eighteen small craft; but the admiral ordered the Swallow and the Panther, two fourth-rates, with a fifth-rate, and a sixth-rate, and two fire-ships, to lie to the windward of him, that, if the enemy's van should push through our line with their gallies and fire-ships, they might rake them in their course.---The force of the French was fifty ships of the line and eight frigates; also, nine fire-ships, twelve gallies of France, and eleven of Spain, with two flutes: in all ninety-two sail.

In the centre of the French fleet was the Count de Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, with the white squadron. The battle began about ten in the morning, north and south, off Malaga, at ten or eleven leagues from shore, and lasted till night. Our fleet bore down in order of battle, and the engagement began with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success, till two in the afternoon, when the enemy's van began to give way; nevertheless, the fight was maintained till night, when the French bore away to leeward. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in the Barfleur, discharged the first broadside, on which he was bravely assailed by the Marquis de Villette; but a bomb, falling on the French admiral's stern,



Defeat of the French Fleet, by Sir Cloudesley Shovell, August 13.th 1704.

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stern, blew up his poop, and set his ship on fire in three places, when he was obliged to quit the line of battle to extinguish the flames. M. de Belleisle, the rear-admiral of the van, drove into the hottest of the fire, and fell early in the action; but his captain saved the ship from destruction, by falling out of the line. Nothing could surpass the bravery of Sir Cloudesley Shovel on this memorable day; he set all his sails, and rowed with three boats a-head, to get along-side the French admiral: scarce a ship in his division that had not one, at least, of their masts shattered; his own ship escaped the best; and the Lenox, Warspight, Tilbury, and Swiftsure, suffered most. In Sir George Rooke's division, his own ship the Royal Catherine; the St. George, command by Sir John Jennings, (afterwards admiral of the white, and a lord of the admiralty;) and the Shrewsbury, Captain Crowe; were in the hottest of the fire. The wind shifting before the next morning, the French gained the weather-gage; but that day was spent in inaction, although the two fleets lay within three leagues of each other, repairing the damage they had sustained. The French, instead of making use of the advantage which the wind afforded them, the next night filled, and stood to the northward. For two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which Count Thoulouse declined.

The officers killed and wounded, on the side of the English, were Captains Sir Andrew Leake of the Grafton, and Crowe of the Shrewsbury; four lieutenants, two warrant-officers, killed. Captains Mynge, Namur; Baker, Monmouth; Jumper, Lenox; Mighells, Monk; and Kirkson, Suffolk; with thirteen lieutenants, and thirteen warrant-officers; were wounded; 687 men were killed, and 1632 wounded. Of the French were slain, a rear-admiral, five captains, six lieutenants, and five sea-ensigns. Count Thoulouse

Thoulouse himself was wounded in the forehead, shoulder, and thigh; Count Reliques had his leg shot off; the Marquis de Herbault, intendant of the fleet; Du Casse, commodore of a squadron; the Marquis de Chateau Morand; Counts Phelipeaux and Cominges; M. de Valincourt, secretary to the admiral of France, seven captains, eight lieutenants, and about 150 inferior officers; were wounded; of private men, killed and wounded, the whole amount was 3048.

In this action the French possessed very signal advantages, notwithstanding they were unquestionably worsted: their ships were larger; for in their fleet were seventeen three-decked ships, whilst the confederates had only seven, two of which were Dutch men of war. Their weight of metal gave them also a great superiority, they having a much greater number of guns: their ships were clean, being just come out of port; whereas ours had been long at sea, and had done hard service: farther, they had the assistance of their gallies, which did them essential service: they were well provided with ammunition, which ours so much wanted, that several ships were towed out of the line, because they had not either powder or ball sufficient for a single broadside. But the skill of the admiral, and the bravery of the officers and seamen under his command, supplied all defects, and decided our superiority at sea.

The French indeed claimed the victory, as they never fail to do whenever misrepresentation can render such claim plausible. Louis XIV. wrote to the the Archbishop of Paris, directing *Te Deum* to be sung on that occasion, and afterwards published an account to corroborate this assertion. The French academy went so far as to cause a medal to be struck on the occasion, as if, instead of being defeated, their countrymen had gained a victory, the memory of which was worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

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The fact is, that both sides deserved the victory, had success depended on valour. Though no ships were sunk or lost, the fleets were so much disabled, that neither shewed any great inclination to renew the fight. The French, unable to assist the Spaniards, made the most of the wind to carry them to their own port of Toulon; while Sir George Rooke, having waited for them two days, at length left a squadron under the command of Sir John Leake, on the coast of Spain, to protect the trade, and frustrate any designs which the enemy might form, and then proceeded to Gibraltar, with the fleet of the allies. On the 24th day of August the admiral left that harbour, and that day month reached England.

The brilliant successes which had crowned the arms of the allies, both by sea and land, during this memorable year, had given a very favourable turn to the aspect of affairs in England. The parliament met on the 29th day of October, when the queen, in her speech, took notice of the great and remarkable success which had blessed her arms, and the satisfaction which it had spread through all parts of the kingdom. The two houses of parliament, actuated by the opposite party-principles which prevailed in each, in their addresses, expressed their sentiments of the advantages gained by the land and sea commanders very differently. The lords confined themselves to the glorious success of her majesty's arms under the Duke of Marlborough, and were quite silent on the acquisition of Gibraltar, and the engagement at sea. The splendour of the victory obtained at Blenheim was made use of invidiously to obscure the important, though less decisive, affair of Malaga. The commons very widely differed in their sentiments from the upper house. They chose to consider the battle of Blenheim, and Rooke's naval exploits, as equally important and glorious. It was happy for the nation, that these divided sentiments, with respect to particular

lar commanders, did not impede the business of the nation. Supplies were liberally voted; also a bounty to the seamen and land forces, who had behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions both by sea and land. 4,670,931*l.* were granted for the service of the ensuing year, which were raised by a land-tax, the sale of annuities, and other expedients. A provision was made for 40,000 seamen, for the year 1705, including 8,000 marines; 100,000*l.* was allowed for the ordinary of the navy for the same year, and 40,000*l.* to the office of ordnance for the sea service, over and above the usual provision; 10,000*l.* were likewise given for constructing a wharf and storehouse at Portsmouth.

The Duke of Marlborough passed over to Holland in the beginning of April, 1705, and took the field early in May. His aim was to improve the victories of the preceding campaign, by carrying the war by the Moselle into the heart of France. For this purpose he marched through the country of Lembourg. On the side of France great efforts were made to oppose the victories of Marlborough. The broken remains of the army were re-assembled, the garrisons were drained, and the militia ordered to take the field. An army was at last mustered up, and Marshal Villars was recalled from the remotest part of the Cevennes, to take upon him the command. The army of France was assembled near Treves. Both generals were equally desirous of coming to an engagement; but the Prince of Baden failing to join the allies with the army of the empire, as it is generally supposed, out of envy at Marlborough's unequalled greatness, Villars had at least the honour of compelling the English general to decamp, no inconsiderable glory at that time. Voltaire gives us a letter written by the duke to the marquis at decamping, which runs thus: "Do me the justice to believe, that my retreat is owing to the Prince of Baden; and that
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my esteem for you is greater than my displeasure against him."

Just as the operations of the campaign commenced, the Emperor Leopold died at Vienna, and was succeeded on the Imperial throne by his eldest son Joseph, king of the Romans. The new emperor was so destitute of resources, that he was incapable of furnishing his quota of troops. The French availed themselves of this posture of affairs. Hui fell into their hands, and Liege was threatened with an attack. By the duke's decampment, the progress of the French in Flanders was checked; Hui was retaken on the 12th day of July, and the duke resolved to retrieve, by some enterprize of consequence, the glory lost by his retrograde motions.

This was no other than a scheme for forcing the French lines, for which purpose his army encamped within a league of the enemy. The Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Villeroi, perceiving the design of the allies, drew their armies together, leaving only small detachments to defend the lines on either side. On the 17th day of July, the Duke of Marlborough gave orders for the Dutch to march towards Mehaigne, which lay about half a league to the right of the French camp: this was meant as a feint; while, at the same time, he ordered 10,000 men to form on his right, and to lie down there, on their arms. When it grew dark, this body marched towards two barriers which defended the enemy's camp on the left. The whole army followed this detachment; and the Dutch, who had been sent off a contrary way, immediately faced about, and proceeded in the same route. The Elector of Bavaria, at length, apprized of the duke's real design, ordered the left wing of his cavalry to march, to prevent the allies from passing the barriers; he himself following with the infantry. But the English had already formed within the lines. After a fierce shock between the duke and the Bavarian in-

fantry, the latter were obliged to give way: ten battalions, however, throwing themselves into a hollow square, marched off in defiance of the cavalry of the allies, and protected, as they retreated, their flying friends. In this action the confederates took the Marquis d'Alegre, and the Count de Horne, lieutenant-generals; one major-general, two brigadier-generals, with many other officers, and a great number of common soldiers; with a profusion of military trophies, and ten pieces of cannon. The duke, in this action, narrowly escaped death, whilst charging at the head of a detachment: a Bavarian officer aimed a blow at him with his scymetar, but in endeavouring to give it extraordinary force he fell from his horse, and was instantly killed. The French and Bavarians having, after the action, retired behind the Dyle, the rest of the campaign in Germany was passed in inactivity.

The French were more successful in Italy. Suza, Vercell, Ivree, in a word, almost all Piedmont, had fallen into their hands, and they besieged the important fortress of Verruë from the 15th of October, 1704, to the 7th of April, 1705, so that the Duke of Savoy was reduced to the last extremity; but in spite of all his losses he supported himself always with hopes of seeing Prince Eugene come to his relief. He appeared always at the head of his troops, and led them, during the siege, in several sallies and attacks, and performed, in defence of the place, prodigies of valour. At last, however, the town surrendered; and the King of France; that he might give this conquest all the lustre imaginable, spoke in such terms of the Duke of Savoy as did him great honour.

Prince Eugene arrived on the 23d of April at Roveredo, in order to proceed to the army in Italy to succour the Duke of Savoy. The prince, as soon as he came, formed a design of passing the Mincio, that

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that he might either succour Mirandola, or penetrate into Piedmont; but detachments of Vendome's army so diligently watched all his motions, that he found it impossible to pass that river, though his infantry was arrived on the very brink of it. Mirandola surrendered to the French on the 11th of May, for want of provisions. Prince Eugene having received advice of the loss of this place, and finding still greater and greater difficulties in attempting the passing the Mincio, turned his views another way, resolving to enter the Bressan, and to advance to Castlenovo. He began this expedition by causing his foot to cross the lake de Garda to Salo; he afterwards went over in person, while the cavalry continued their march through Riva, above the lake of Garda, in order to join the foot in the camp of General Bibra. Prince Eugene, having joined with all his forces General Bibra, resolved to offer the enemy battle, in case they opposed his passage into the Milanese.

The Duke de Vendome, and the grand prior his brother, considering of what importance it was to check Prince Eugene, formed a design of attacking him in his camp; in order to this, having put themselves at the head of the army of the two crowns, decamping from Bedizolo, they marched in three columns towards Gavardo, where finding the Imperialists were advantageously posted on an eminence between Gavarda and Salo, and that their front was covered by five or six villages well entrenched, they thought it temerity to attack the prince in such a situation. They therefore resolved to post themselves before the camp of the prince, within a cannon-shot, their left extending to Chiesa, and their right to the lake de Garda; besides the security resulting from this situation, the grand prior took care to cover his camp with good retrenchments; and the Duke of Vendome, having given instructions as to what he would have done, set out for Milan.

The grand prior, who was intrusted with the army of the two crowns, on the thirtieth of May ordered some companies of grenadiers to take possession of a strong cassine situated on the Naviglio, not above 500 paces from the advanced guard of the Imperial camp. The prince thought it necessary to retake it, and to that end sent Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg, who made himself master of it in the night of the 31st of the same month, but not without some difficulty and loss. Those posted therein made a vigorous resistance. They were forced to drive them from room to room till they came to the last, and after killing or taking them all prisoners, they were obliged to engage and to defeat Lieutenant-general St. Fremont, who came to support that party with 400 dragoons and 600 grenadiers. The end of this business was, that the cassine remained in the hands of the Imperialists, who made it the head of a line of communication drawn from one river to the other, to secure the passage, and to shut up the avenues of the camp. But, as the prince came to succour the Duke of Savoy, either by making a diversion, or by joining him, the first proving unsuccessful, he resolved to attempt the latter. In order to this, having taken proper measures in the night of the 21st of June, he decamped with his army, and marched with such diligence and silence that it was two hours after daylight before the French perceived it; they then decamped also in order to observe him. The prince arrived the 27th in the morning at Urago on the Oglio, where he designed to cross the river. Here he found the noise of his march had out-stript it, so that the enemy had seized all the little posts on the other side of the river, had strengthened them with entrenchments, and had posted guards of horse between those entrenchments and the Oglio. He passed the river notwithstanding. The cavalry were obliged to pass where it was not perfectly fordable; they

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were forced therefore to swim, which occasioned the loss of the Count de Serini, lieutenant veld marshal, who, being taken by a vertigo, fell into the water and was drowned. They worked immediately on a bridge, which they finished, so that the infantry passed the 28th in the morning with the rest of the cavalry, all the artillery and baggage.

The prince's army encamped in the evening at Calzo, and 100 Spaniards who were in the castle yielded themselves prisoners of war. The garrison of Palazzuolo fearing the same fate, though it consisted of six battalions, retired towards Bergamo, after throwing into the river 6,000 sacks of meal, and leaving a few troops in the castle in order to amuse those of the emperor. Prince Eugene ordered them immediately to be pursued by a detachment of horse-grenadiers, who came up with them about half a league from Bergamo, routed them, and took 900 with their general, a colonel, and 19 other officers, prisoners; a great many were killed, and the rest saved themselves in the mountains. Soon after a detachment of the Imperial army entered the town of Palazzuolo, and, having begun to undermine the castle, the troops there, to the number of 220 men, including officers, yielded themselves prisoners.

However the grand prior followed constantly with his army; he had passed the Oglio at Pontevico the 2d of June, and had posted himself in the neighbourhood of Crema, his right at Soncino, and his left at Sanevolta, but without undertaking any thing which might produce a battle. In the night between the 2d and 3d of July he went to Ambriano, between Crema and Lodi. Here he was joined by the Duke of Vendome. The siege of Chivas had taken him up from the 15th or 20th of June to the 10th of July; but, on advice of the passage of the Oglio by Prince Eugene, and the rapidity of his march, he altered his designs; and, having left the army before Chivas,

Chivas, under the command of the Duke de la Feuillade, he on the 11th of July detached 18 battalions, and as many squadrons, under the command of Count Albergotti, and marched with all imaginable diligence to join the grand prior. By this junction the superiority was on the side of the French, and that to such a degree, that the Imperial army seemed to have it equally out of its power, either to advance or retire. The prince therefore resolved to make himself master of Ustiano, Caneto, and Marcaria, posts upon the Oglio, whereby his communication might be opened with the lake de Garda. In three days the three posts were taken; but, the Duke of Vendome on the one side, and the grand prior on the other advancing with great detachments to retake them, they were immediately abandoned. All this happened between the 18th and the 27th of July, by which time the prince resolved to pursue his march towards Piedmont, and he arrived without any obstacle at a place above Cassano where he proposed to pass the river, but found it impracticable. The prince thereupon was obliged to seek for another passage some miles higher, where he accordingly found such a place as exactly suited him; but, while he was making his preparations, the van of the French army came in sight. They had decamped from Sorecina as soon as they observed the motion of the Imperialists, and, instead of marching together, they now moved in two bodies. The grand prior, with 20 battalions and 30 squadrons, marched along the Ada, without crossing it, and halted over against Cassano. The Duke of Vendome, with 15 battalions and as many squadrons, had passed it, and marched the same way with the utmost diligence.

The prince therefore was obliged to give over all thoughts of passing, and the next day, being the 15th, he made the army retire to Pembrato, where he passed the night. In the middle of their retreat,

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the van of the Imperial army, commanded by the Baron de Raedt, colonel and quarter-master-general, fell in with the foragers of the grand prior, and took some of them prisoners. From these they learned that he was on this side the Ada, but very advantageously posted, having Cassano in his rear, and in his front a canal called Ritorta, which served him for a retrenchment. The prince, judging the occasion favourable because of the division of the French forces, resolved to attack them, because he was thoroughly persuaded that the grand prior was alone; the haste he had made would not suffer him to think otherwise. However, he was deceived; the road by which the Duke de Vendome marched thither being shorter by half than his.

The first attack was made by the right of the Imperialists and the left of the enemy, and in half a quarter of an hour the engagement was general. But before we can tell how, and with what success, it will be necessary to explain the disposition of each army. The enemy's infantry, consisting of 35 battalions, lined the Ritorta. They were ranged in two lines, the second being weaker than the first, and intermixed with some squadrons, the rest of their cavalry formed a third line; they had the Ada behind them, and behind the Ada the town of Cassano, their communication with which was preserved by a bridge, which was fortified. Cassano had a garrison of troops, and was so well furnished with cannon, that it protected their whole camp. The country was neither too close nor too open. They could easily cover their infantry, having on the right two deep canals which served them for entrenchments. The canal of Ritorta covered them from the wing of the other; there was no coming at them without passing it; and to pass it there was a necessity of jumping into the water up to the neck; there was on their left a bridge, of which also they were masters. The Imperialists were drawn

drawn up on the other side of the canal, in order of battle, and they formed three attacks, one on the right, one on the left, and one on the centre. The fire of the small arms was very brisk, the whole length of the canal; the left of the duke's army was the first disordered; the Imperialists penetrated there by the bridge, and put them into some confusion, but at last they rallied, and repulsed vigorously those who had pushed them. The fire of the small arms began again at half a pistol-shot distance, the canal being between them; it lasted for a full hour pretty equally, at last the French had the disadvantage, and began to give way. The Imperialists then passed the canal a second time, and, falling upon the French with bayonets fixed, put them to the rout. The French, finding themselves pressed by the enemy, and having behind them a river that was not very broad, thought it might be easily passed, and so threw themselves in headlong, not considering its rapidity. Many were drowned; the rest abandoned their horses, and retired to the head of the bridge of Cassano.

The left of the Imperialists, after firing some time across the canal, at last threw themselves into the water by whole battalions at a time, and formed on the other side; there they found two canals more; they attempted to pass these also, and actually passed one of them in spite of all resistance.

The place where the Imperialists fought least successfully was in the center. They endeavoured to penetrate in two places, but were repulsed. Prince Eugene thereupon ordered a general halt; the engagement had now lasted four hours, the soldiers had no powder, and it was not easy to carry them any on the other side of the canal. Besides this, the enemy had posted the right in such a manner that it was impossible to force them, and their center was sustained by the continual fire of the cannon of Cassano. These considerations determined Prince Eugene to

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to put an end to the engagement. He did not however withdraw his troops immediately, they remained a long time in the field of battle; but in the evening he drew them off. His retreat was not attended with any loss, except in leaving on the other side of the canal three pieces of cannon which they had taken from the enemy, but were not able to carry away for want of horses. Prince Eugene was wounded by a musket-shot behind the ear; and had 2023 men slain, and 2042 wounded. The Duke of Vendome received a slight wound in the leg, he had also a horse killed under him, and two of his valets; his secretary and the captain of his guard were torn from his side by a cannon-shot.

The great point the French had in view this campaign was the siege of Turin; but the Duke of Vendome was so weakened by the battle of Cassano, and so much dreaded a second attack from Prince Eugene, that this darling project of the French king was obliged to be abandoned; and thus ended the campaign of 1705 in Italy.

During these transactions, the French and Spaniards determined to attempt the recovery of Gibraltar. Those powers foresaw all the consequences resulting from the English possessing that marine barrier, which have since been realized: such as; affording a secure station for ships of war, as well as a retreat for merchantmen, and a refreshing harbour for both: besides which, its vicinity to Cadiz, and situation at the southern extremity of Europe, gave England every advantage she could wish, for annoying the Spaniards in their intercourse with the West-Indies, in time of war. Philip of Spain therefore sent a body of troops to attack Gibraltar by land, under the command of Marquis Villadanas, whilst a fleet of French men of war, consisting of thirteen ships, commanded by their rear-admiral de Pointis, blocked up the place by sea. The Prince of Hesse gained a knowledge of these de-

signs early in the month of October, and sent advice thereof to Sir John Leake, who lay at Lisbon with his squadron. The admiral hastened immediately to the relief of the place, and landed several gunners, carpenters, and engineers, together with a body of four hundred marines. Having thrown in this necessary succour, he returned to Lisbon, not having a sufficient strength to make head against the French fleet, which was then approaching. However, he quickly returned with a fresh supply of necessaries for the use of the garrison, and on the 29th day of October entered the bay, where he surprized and took two frigates, one of forty-two guns, and the other of twenty-four, with some smaller vessels. Besides these advantages, he arrived very opportunely to prevent the storming of the town, which was intended to have taken place the following night. During the whole month of November, the English admiral rendered essential services to the besieged, and greatly annoyed their enemies. Early in December the Antelope and Newcastle men of war arrived, with a small fleet of transports, having on-board near 2,000 land forces, all which, by good fortune, seconded by good conduct, had escaped from de Pointis's fleet, which, by displaying English and Dutch colours, had endeavoured to ensnare them. By the arrival of this force, the garrison was augmented to more than 3,000 men, which rendered the place so secure, that the fleet returned to Lisbon in order to refit. Early in the year 1705, the Spanish general Villadarias, was superseded, and the command bestowed on Marshal de Tessé, captain-general, and a Frenchman who, though he surpassed his predecessor in military skill, yet he disgusted the Spanish officers, who were too haughty to receive orders from a foreigner. On the 6th day of March, Sir Thomas Dilkes arrived in the Tagus from England, with five third-rate men of war, and a body of troops, where-
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upon the Vice-admiral Sir John Leake set sail for Gibraltar, and, coming within sight of the bay on the 10th day of March, he descried five sail of the line coming out. He immediately gave chase to these ships, which proved to be *Magnanime* of 84 guns; the *Lilly* of 88 guns; the *Ardent* of 66 guns; the *Arrogant* of 60 guns; and the *Marquis* of 56. These were commanded by M. de Pointis in person, who was on-board the *Magnanime*. The *Arrogant* struck to Sir Thomas Dilkes, after having made a very weak defence; the other four ran ashore to the westward of Marbella, in Andalusia, where they were destroyed. The remaining part of the French squadron, having a few days before been blown from their anchors, had taken shelter in Malaga Bay; but, hearing the report of the guns, they slipped their cables, and stretched away for Toulon. The Marshal de Tessé, having now lost the assistance of the fleet, and finding the English ride triumphant at sea, turned the siege of Gibraltar into a blockade. During this siege upwards of 8,000 bombs were thrown, and 70,000 cannon shot fired against the town, but to very little effect. From that day the French no longer made a figure with their numerous fleets, on the ocean and the Mediterranean. The marine now sunk again into that weak condition from whence Louis had raised it, in the same manner as many other grand things, which had their rise and fall during his reign.

While Sir John Leake was employed in this expedition, Sir George Byng was sent, with a small squadron, to cruise in the Soundings, to protect the merchant-ships. It was in consequence of the enquiries which the house of lords had set on foot, that a flag-officer was appointed to superintend this service, which proved very beneficial to the trade of England, as well as a great annoyance to the enemy; for a French man of war of 44 guns, together with 12 privateers,

and 7 merchant-ships, richly laden from the West-Indies, were captured.

The grand fleet was now put under the command of the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel; the latter of whom was chosen by the whigs to supply the place of Sir George Rooke. The Earl of Peterborough was one of the most extraordinary men that England, so fruitful in bold, courageous, and uncommon, geniusses, ever produced. He was a man that strongly resembled those imaginary heroes, whom the Spaniards have represented in their romances. These joint commanders had a well-appointed fleet, consisting of 29 line of battle ships, besides frigates, fire-ships, bombs, and other small craft, and 5,000 land forces. On the 11th day of June they arrived in the Tagus. Here they met with Sir John Leake and his squadron, also the Dutch admiral Allemonde; the combined ships then amounting to 48 ships of the line. In a council of war it was determined, to put to sea with this force, and to station it in such a manner, between cape Spartel and the bay of Cadiz, as might best prevent the junction of the French squadron from Toulon and Brest. The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, arriving from Gibraltar, assured King Charles, that the province of Catalonia, and the kingdom of Valentia, were attached to his interest; and his majesty, being weary of Portugal, resolved to accompany the Earl of Peterborough to Barcelona. He accordingly embarked with him on-board the Ranelagh, and the fleet sailed on the 28th of July, the Earl of Galway having reinforced them with two regiments of English dragoons. At Gibraltar they took on board the English guards, and three old regiments, in lieu of which they left two new-raised battalions. On the 11th day of August they anchored in the bay of Altea, in the kingdom of Valentia, where the Earl of Peterborough published a ma-

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nifesto in the Spanish language, which had such an effect, that all the inhabitants of the place, the neighbouring villages, and adjacent mountains, acknowledged King Charles as their lawful sovereign. They seized the town of Denia for his service; and he sent thither a garrison of 400 men, under the command of Major-general Ramos. On the 22d they arrived in the bay of Barcelona: the troops were disembarked to the eastward of the city, where they encamped in a strong situation, and were well received by the country people. King Charles landed amidst the acclamations of an infinite number from the adjacent towns and villages, who threw themselves at his feet, exclaiming, "Long live the king!" and exhibited all the marks of the most extravagant joy. The inhabitants of Barcelona were well affected to the house of Austria, but over-awed by a garrison of 5,000 men, under the Duke de Popoli, Velasco, and other officers devoted to the interest of King Philip.

The city of Barcelona is one of the most ancient in Spain. It is situated in a plain on the coast of the Mediterranean; it is composed of two towns, the old and the new, surrounded with good walls, fortified with deep ditches and ten bastions: the safety and commodiousness of its ports hath rendered it a place of great trade; this port being protected on one side by a mole, with a small fort, and on the other side by the famous fortress of Monjuick, built on a promontory which shoots out on that side, the castle being large enough to receive a garrison of 4 or 500 men. The city itself, by dint of these advantages, is at once very populous, very rich, and very magnificent, and, taken all together, may be reckoned one of the finest cities in Spain. Don Francisco de Velasco, viceroy of Catalonia, commanded here for King Philip, and took all the measures possible for making a vigorous defence. As soon as the declarations published by King Charles and Sir Cloudesley Shovel were brought

brought into the town, the viceroy assembled not only the nobility and the principal townsmen, but even the mechanics; to these he made a very pathetic speech, in which he insisted particularly on the same the Catalonians had long preserved, of being inviolably faithful to good princes; he took notice of the kindness which King Philip had always shewed them, and then observed that it was very possible in so large a city there might be many malcontents from various reasons, he therefore exhorted all such to declare themselves frankly, promising them upon his faith and honour that he would freely permit them to go and join the Prince of Darmstadt, which he thought would be acting like honest men and fair enemies, which if they refused to do, he hoped they would not charge him with any cruelty, if he caused every person detected in giving intelligence to the enemy, or any other act of treason, to be hanged up without form or process, let him be priest or laymen, mechanic or man of quality. They all unanimously cried out that they would hold out the place to the last drop of their blood for their lawful sovereign King Philip; though it is very certain that the far greater part of those present, and especially the clergy, were in the interest of King Charles, and were daily doing all they could to put the city into his hands. Among these the commanding officer in Monjuick was one; but the Count de Velasco, having discovered it, ordered him and four or five of his accomplices to be hanged, and then caused the garrison to be changed.

After the Earl of Peterborough had taken on himself the compliance with the King of Spain's (Charles III.) request, he did all in his power to carry it on with success. The attack of the citadel of Monjuick appeared to be the only means whereby the city in a short space might be brought to surrender; for, that fortress once carried, Barcelona would have been in a manner uncovered on that side. Colonel Southwell

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at the head of 400 grenadiers, supported by a detachment of 600 foot, marched in the night through rough and rocky ways, where sometimes only one man could pass a-breast, and arrived after thirteen hours fatigue at the enemy's works. However the attack was bravely carried on, and the place in all likelihood had been taken sword in hand, if succours could have been prevented from coming from the town; this the Prince of Hesse perceiving, advised the attacking a post which would have cut off that communication, and marched at the head of the men detached for that purpose. In this service the Prince of Hesse received a shot in his thigh, which tore open the great artery; he marched on however, without complaining, about fifty paces, and then dropped. He was immediately taken up and carried to a little house hard by, where before his wound could be examined he died through the effusion of blood. The death of this illustrious person, and the taking of two companies of foot, who were decoyed into the enemy's power, by their throwing up their hats, and crying, "Long live King Charles the Third!" so discouraged the troops, that they could not be brought to attack again, the grenadiers positively refusing to follow Colonel Southwell. Upon this occasion it was that the Earl of Peterborough shewed an intrepidity that can never be too much applauded: he went directly to the grenadiers' post, drew his sword, and, throwing away the scabbard, said, "I am sure all brave men will follow me." The grenadiers, seeing the earl advance, set up a loud huzza, and marched cheerfully to the attack. In the mean time the miquelets in the service of King Charles took the fort of St. Bertram, in which were five pieces of cannon, so that all communication between the fortrefs of Monjuick and the city was absolutely cut off. The Spanish governor however remaining obstinate, the place was bombarded and cannonaded for several days together. On the

17th Colonel Southwell observing that a mortar threw to the left of the fort, traversed it himself, and firing it immediately after, the bomb fell into a magazine of powder, which tore up an angle of the wall with one of the gates, and buried the brave governor in its ruins. Colonel Southwell took this opportunity to enter the place sword in hand, made the garrison consisting of 300 men prisoners of war, and, by reducing this strong fortress, opened a path to the speedy conquest of Barcelona. Two days after the trenches were opened before the town, which they battered with 50 pieces of cannon, the army being too small to invest the town, the Earl of Peterborough divided it, and by encamping on both sides, and placing a guard of horse on the road leading to Perpignan, effectually shut it up. To prevent fatiguing the soldiers, he disposed them so that on the one side certain garden walls, and on the other two great roads, served instead of entrenchments. In a short time a breach was made wide enough to be attacked, which Don Velasco no sooner saw than he resolved to capitulate; for he knew there was no trusting the people in the town. On the 9th of October the place was surrendered; but the garrison underwent a severer trial afterwards, the inhabitants of Barcelona rising and attempting to cut their's and the viceroy's throats; but the Earl of Peterborough interposed with a vigour worthy of an English general, and took care to see his capitulation performed with the utmost exactness.

King Charles entered Barcelona in triumph. All the other places in Catalonia declared for him except Roses; so that one of the largest and richest provinces in Spain was subdued by an army scarce double the number of the garrison of Barcelona. It was then determined, in a council of war, that the King of Spain, and the Earl of Peterborough, should continue in Catalonia with the land forces, and that Sir Cloudesley Shovel should proceed for England with the
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best part of the fleet; that Sir John Leake, with a strong squadron, should remain in the Mediterranean; that six ships should be left to attend the Earl of Peterborough, two more remain at Gibraltar, and a third and fourth rate be employed in cruising for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. In pursuance of which resolutions, Sir Cloudesley, with 19 ships of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, passed the Straits on the 16th day of October, and arrived at Spithead on the 26th day of November following, after having conducted a most glorious sea campaign.

In some measure to counterbalance these successes in the Mediterranean, a fleet of merchantmen, homeward-bound from the Baltic, who were convoyed by three men of war, was met by a French squadron, consisting of five men of war and five privateers, commanded by the Count de St. Paul, which sailed from Dunkirk. The whole fleet of merchant-ships, being 12 in number, together with their convoy, fell into the hands of this squadron. The Count de St. Paul, who, after the death of the famous Du Bart, was looked upon as the best seaman in France, and was therefore promoted to the command of the Dunkirk squadron, in the room of M. de Pointis, was shot with a musket-ball in the heat of the action, and killed upon the spot. When the account of this action was brought to Louis XIV. at Versailles, he received the news with great coolness, saying, with a sigh, "I wish the prizes were all safe in any English port, if that would restore me M. de St. Paul." By such generous testimonies of respect for true merit, the French king, in the midst of his misfortunes, maintained a succession of brave officers, ever ready to expose their lives in his service.

At home we had this year an instance of naval discipline, which deserves a place in this work. One Captain Cross, who commanded the *Elizabeth*, gave her up to the French in the Channel, after a very slight

defence. He was tried by a court-martial on-board the *Triumph*, on the 25th of August, Sir George Byng being president, and having 12 captains to assist him. It appeared there, that he shewed the utmost signs of fear, which intimidated the men, and that, if he had behaved as he ought to have done, the enemy might have been repulsed, and the ship saved. He offered several things in his defence, such as that, his surgeon was sick, and many of the men were drunk, and would not do their duty; but, upon a full hearing, he was declared guilty of neglect of duty, and the sentence pronounced upon him was, that he should be cashiered, rendered incapable to serve her majesty in any capacity, forfeit all the arrears due to him, and remain a prisoner for life; which sentence was executed without any mitigation, except as to his imprisonment.

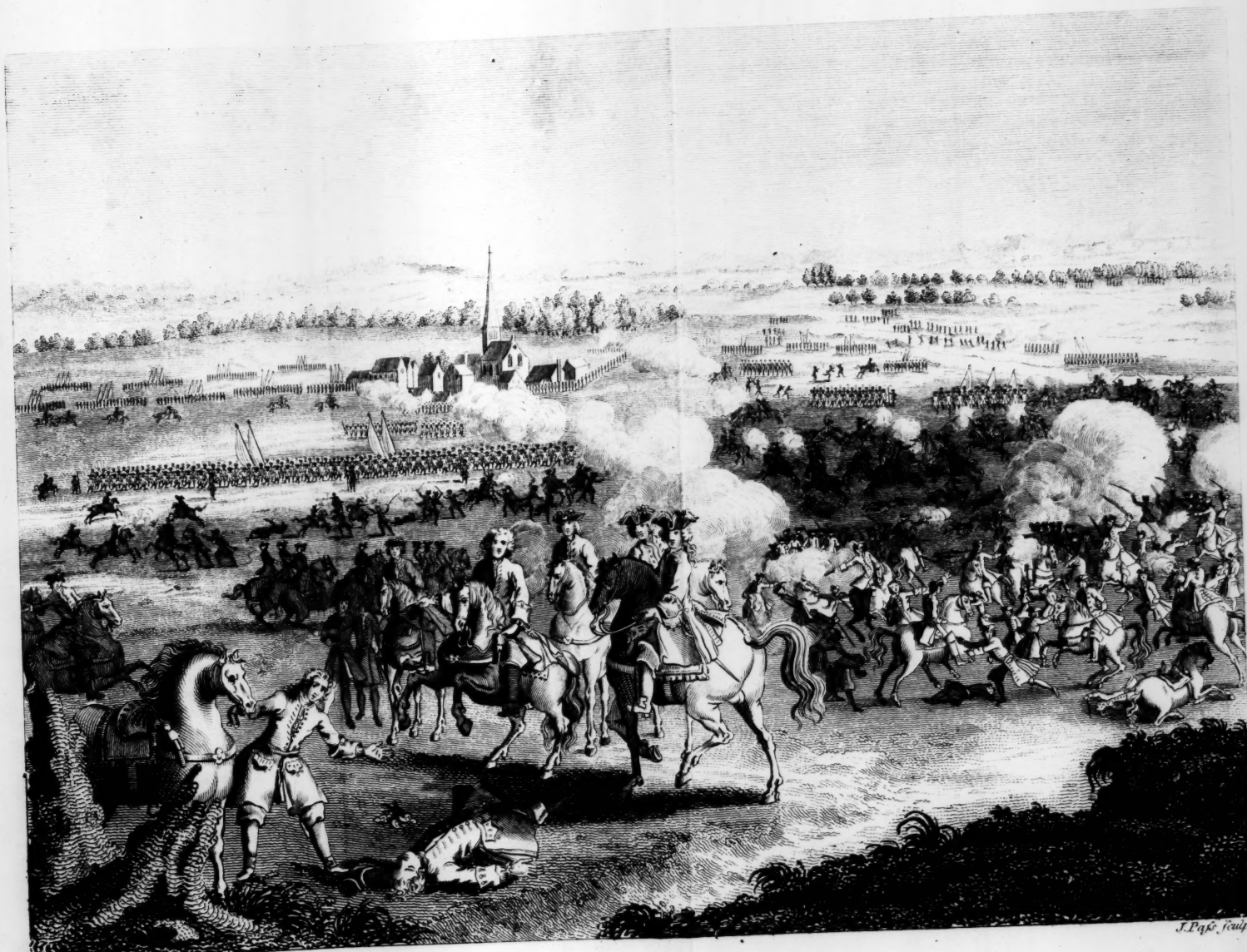
A new parliament met on the 25th of October, in which the interest of the whigs was found greatly to preponderate. The queen, in her speech, represented the necessity of acting vigorously against France, as a common enemy to the interests of Europe: she signified her intention to expedite commissions for treating of an union with Scotland; earnestly recommended an union of minds and affections among her people; declared that her endeavours should be steadily exerted to promote religion and virtue, to encourage trade, and whatever else might tend to make her subjects happy and prosperous.

The issue of the last campaign, both by sea and land, having furnished a fair prospect of humbling the house of Bourbon in Flanders, and dispossessing them of Spain, the house of commons cheerfully passed the supplies: they voted 250,000*l.* for prosecuting the advantages which had been gained in Spain; and for the whole service, during the succeeding year in that kingdom, they gave 726,740*l.* in addition. The supply for the sea service for the year 1706, was
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The Battle of Ramillies.

London. Publish'd as the Act directs Feb. 5. 1797.

rated at 40,000 men, including marines: the sum of 120,000*l.* was voted for the ordinary of the navy; 10,000*l.* to the office of ordnance, for the works at Portsmouth; and 82,298*l.* 17*s.* for ordnance stores and carriages for eight new ships built to supply the loss of such as perished in the great storm.

The Duke of Marlborough commenced the campaign of 1706 in Flanders, with an army of 80,000 men; and still expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia. The court of France resolved to attack him before this junction. Villeroy, who commanded an army consisting of 80,000 men, near Tirlemont, had orders to engage. This brought on the famous battle, called, from the village near which it was fought, the battle of Ramillies. It happened on Whitsunday, the 23d of May. The two armies were in fight by eight o'clock in the morning, having nothing but a rivulet, which was almost dry, between them. That of the enemy stretched its right to the Tomb of Ottemont, towards the Mehaigne, being composed of the household troops, sustained by eight brigades of horse, having before it the village of Franquenie, where M. Villeroy had posted four battalions; the left extended itself towards Autreglise, in which there was a body of foot; they had in the same manner three villages in their front, one on their right, one on their left, and a third in the centre. The first line of their infantry was in these three villages, the second had before it some retrenchments, partly natural and partly thrown up in haste. Their left and their front were covered by a little rivulet so steep that cavalry could not pass it. They were more open on their right, which was the reason that they posted there the household troops and the greatest part of their horse. As fast as the army of the allies arrived between Merdorp and Boneff, the Duke of Marlborough and M. Auverquerque drew them up in order of battle, the right near Folz on the

Yause, with a little morass before it, the left towards the Mehaigne near Brancha: behind the centre was Jandrouille, where they posted a body of reserve consisting of their best troops, which were afterwards of great use. Between eleven and twelve o'clock the armies fronted each other, equally impatient to come to an engagement. The cannonading was begun at half past one; and at half past two the action commenced on the left, between the household troops of France and the Dutch horse, commanded by Count de Tilly, as general, by the lieutenant-generals Dopff, the Prince of East Frise, the Count de Hompesch, and the major-generals Vandernath, the Prince d'Auvergne and St. Laurent. The engagement was long and obstinate, the Dutch being twice repulsed, and the French as often.

The Duke of Marlborough, being apprehensive of the danger to which the Dutch troops were exposed, galloped from the right to the left, and in the way ordered the infantry in the centre to engage, which was the grand attack. It was made on the village of Ramillies, full of the enemy's infantry, and where they had a great part of their cannon. The duke ordered 24 pieces of cannon and 12 battalions to advance against it from the centre, which was done, and the troops engaged with all imaginable vigour, being sustained by the whole first line of infantry. His grace had recourse on this occasion to a feint, which succeeded perfectly well; he ordered the English foot to file towards the left of the enemy, as if they intended to attack the village of Offer, which covered them on that side; this had such an effect on the French, that they immediately sent their best troops thither, which greatly weakened their centre, where the battle continued however for an hour and a half, with much obstinacy and bloodshed.

In the duke's passage from the right to the left, when he went to succour the Dutch horse, he twice

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narrowly missed losing his life; for, in attempting to leap a ditch, his horse threw him on the ground, where he was immediately surrounded by the enemy's dragoons, but an English squadron disengaged him; and, as his aid-de-camp, Colonel Bringfield, held the stirrup for him to mount another horse, the colonel had his head shot off by a cannon-ball, which at the same time stunned his grace. As soon however as he recovered, he continued his march to the left with 18 squadrons, in order to sustain the Dutch horse, while the corps de reserve we mentioned before marched in one column to take the troops of the household in flank; our squadrons, which were in close order, took the advantage of the spaces between those of the enemy, to penetrate their line, and attack them in flank, and, the corps de reserve having in the mean time beat some squadrons of dragoons, which were forming in the valley of Tavieres, they came up so opportunely that the French were effectually surrounded. Upon this the enemy, began to give way, and fled soon after in the greatest disorder, because the second line, behind which they might have rallied, had already retired to the left. The allies, much about the same time, drove the enemy out of the village of Ramillies, and took from them ten pieces of cannon, and, a little after they quitted the village, entirely broke their infantry, and put them to flight.

The whole army of the enemy retired upon this, behind some thickets and a hollow road, where it again formed itself, while ours advanced between the Yause and the Mehaigne, so that it was five o'clock before they were drawn up in the plain. The Duke of Marlborough and the veldt-marshal would have led them on to attack the enemy a second time, had not their right retired, and their left begun to withdraw before we could reach them. About this time the French king's own regiment of foot, consisting of
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four battalions, retiring into the plain between Ramillies and Judoigne, where they had left their knapsacks, broke their ranks that they might the better take them up. A body of English horse observing this fell upon them so apropos, that this fine regiment, finding itself unable to make head, threw down its arms and surrendered to Hay's dragoons, a very few having time enough to retreat into the wood that was before them.

While the enemy's troops continued their retreat, an accident happened to them which augmented our victory. Some carriages belonging to the vanguard, breaking, stopped the baggage and artillery, which prevented the troops from defiling in order, and they, apprehending that our horse were just at their heels, quitted their ranks and threw down their arms, that they might the more readily make their escape. It was here that most of the prisoners were made; for in the action there was no quarter given; the reason of which, says the author of the Military History of the Duke of Marlborough was, "our horse being provoked by the ridiculous gasconades of the mousquetaires and gendarmerie, of which they were very full at the beginning of the engagement."

The loss of the enemy amounted to 5,000 killed and wounded, and 6,000 made prisoners; about 200 officers were made prisoners, amongst whom were a lieutenant-general, two marshals-de-camp, the son of the Marshal Tallard, the Marquisses of Mezieres and Entragues, and the Count de Montmorency, nephew to the Duke of Luxemburg. There were 50 pieces of cannon taken, and 60 standards and colours; and, as the allies pursued them at their heels, the greatest part of the baggage fell into our hands also. In a word, never was victory more complete: we had but 350 horse killed and 70 wounded, 660 foot killed, and 1,600 wounded, so that our whole loss did not amount to 3,000 men. We had 80 officers killed, and
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amongst them the Prince Lewis of Hesse and M. de Bentinck. It may be justly said that the Duke of Marlborough's conduct gave the victory to the allies; for he, perceiving the troops on the right could not act because of a morass which separated them from the left of the enemy, withdrew from thence the greatest part of the horse to reinforce the left wing, and brought up also his body of reserve, so that the high idea conceived of the household troops was the cause that the French lost the battle; for on one side it hindered the French generals from reinforcing their right wing, and on the other it engaged the Duke of Marlborough to push with his utmost force a corps so renowned, a design which he effectually completed; for the household troops were so thoroughly shattered here, that they could never be re-established during the whole war. Velt-marshal Auverquerque acquired the highest honour for his prudence and valour on this occasion: he fought at the head of the Dutch troops of the left wing with unparalleled bravery, and continued on horseback in pursuit of the enemy till one o'clock in the morning, when he narrowly missed losing his life by the treachery of a Bavarian. This man, who was a captain of horse, was taken prisoner by the velt-marshal, who told him, as he was a gentleman, he might keep his sword, which permission the villain made use of to draw when the general's back was turned, and had infallibly run him through the body, if one Violet, a Frenchman, the marshal's groom, had not shot him dead upon the spot.

The Elector of Bavaria and the Marshal de Ville-roy, with the remains of their army, fled with all imaginable precipitation to Louvain, where a tumultuous council of war was held by torch-light, in which it was resolved to abandon all the great unfortified towns to the confederates, which was immediately put in execution. The elector spent the rest of the night in packing up his jewels, plate, and furniture,

ture, which he sent to Ghent with all imaginable expedition, and followed it himself soon after.

The victorious army continued its pursuit till two in the morning, and then rested a little near Meldert, and at break of day the Duke of Marlborough gave orders for encamping at Beverchien, for the refreshment of the troops, intending next morning to force the passage of the Deule; but the enemy spared him the trouble, by quitting their camp, abandoning Louvain, and leaving him at liberty to pass the river and take up quarters as he pleased.

Louvain, which was the first place that fell into the hands of the confederates, is a large pleasant city; seated on the river Deule, eleven miles south east of Mechlin, fifteen north-east of Brussels, twenty-seven north of Namur, and thirty-eight north-east of Mons. It is looked upon as the second city in Brabant, and might for extent pass for the first, since it is larger than Ghent, and has abundance of fine fields, pleasant orchards, and agreeable gardens, within the walls, which are the strongest in Flanders, adorned with fifty-three towers, and sixteen drawbridges; here is also a famous university consisting of forty-three colleges; but the buildings of the town are neither grand in themselves, nor in good repair; there is however one of the finest stadt-houses in the world, in which the Duke of Marlborough took up his quarters for some time.---On the 27th the Duke of Marlborough sent his brother General Churchill to take possession of Brussels, the capital of Brabant, and one of the finest cities in Europe, the seat of the Spanish governor of the low countries, adorned with the royal palace, to which belong noble gardens, parks, &c. there are in it seven principal streets, as many great gates and principal churches. On the 28th his grace made his public entry into the city, with great state, the magistrates presenting him with the keys, which he returned with an assurance of her Britannic majesty's protection;

protection; and, that all the Spanish provinces might be induced to follow the example of this city, the duke published an order for obliging his troops to keep exact discipline, that the people might perceive that they would be treated as friends, and not as enemies, in case they acknowledged King Charles III. for their sovereign. In consequence of this, the magistrates of Malines, or Mechlin, the capital of a small seigneurie of the same name, sent their deputies to make their submission, and Colonel Durel was sent with a detachment of 200 horse to take possession of the place, who made the French governor a prisoner. Mechlin is a well-built handsome town, in which there are seven parishes, each adorned with a stately church; its walls are strong, its ditch good, and its situation in a large plain, which with great ease can at any time be put under water, makes it very defensible, and consequently its submission could not but be very grateful to the duke.---On the 29th Aloft declared for King Charles III. and soon after the French abandoned Ghent. Ghent is the chief city of Flanders, commodiously situated on the banks of the rivers Schelde and Leye, which run through it and divide it into twenty-six islands, joined together by ninety-eight bridges. It is of a prodigious extent for a walled city, being not less than seven miles in compass; its buildings remarkably fair and stately; it had seven churches, and fifty-five religious houses, also a noble palace containing 300 fine rooms. Its citadel has four bastions, but, though regular, is far from being strong, or fit to command or defend such a place. The trade of Ghent consists in corn, cloths, stuffs, and silks, which are so considerable that there are no less than fifty companies of tradesmen.---The next day the little town of Oudenard surrendered. It stands sixteen miles south of Ghent, and is looked upon as one of the neatest places in Flanders. A day or two after General Ross, who had been detached with a body of horse towards Bruges, sent

advice that the city had surrendered, or rather submitted to King Charles. Bruges is the second city in Flanders, and receives its name from the great number of bridges which are therein; it is seated in a large plain eight miles from the sea; its walls are about four miles in compass, and are tolerably strong, being surrounded with an excellent ditch; there were at that time seven fine churches, sixty religious houses, and a fine college belonging to the jesuits; it has six principal streets terminating in as many fine gates; and, though much sunk in respect of its ancient splendour, it is still esteemed one of the finest cities in the Low Countries.

The French king was so much alarmed at the news he received continually from the Netherlands, that he sent M. Chamillard to the army to see whether things were really as they were represented, and to endeavour, if possible, to remedy it upon the spot; but the minister was as unable to restore his majesty's affairs as his generals, and, instead of making things take a better turn, he had the mortification of beholding Antwerp, the last great city in the Spanish provinces, which remained subject to the two crowns, declare for the allies. Its garrison consisted of six French and six Spanish battalions, under the command of the M. de Terracena; but that nobleman no sooner saw the confederates possessed of the avenues of the place, than he gave notice to the French that he did not think it proper to expose the city to a siege, which might be very prejudicial to it, and could prove but of very little use, since they had no succours to hope for, and were but indifferently provided for their defence. The French understood this so well, that they immediately made the best terms for themselves they could. M. de Pontis, who commanded them, procured leave to march out of the place, and to be conducted to Landrecy; M. Terracena remaining governor for King Charles with the very same garrison with which he had kept the citadel for King Philip. Antwerp was capital

pital of the marquifate of the Holy Empire, the fmallest province in the Netherlands, being but feven miles long and four broad. This city ftands on the river Schelde, on the borders of Flanders, twenty-two miles north of Bruffels and feventy five fouth of Amfterdam: It was heretofore one of the firft cities in Europe, and is ftill one of the fineft cities in the Netherlands. It is near eight miles in circuit, its form being that of a bow, to which the river Schelde is the ftring; its walls are the faireft and ftrongeft in Europe, being 110 feet broad at the top, with five rows of trees regularly planted upon them; without they are faced with an excellent kind of ftone, and have eight regular baf- tions and thirteen noble gates, which open into as many ftrait broad ftreets adorned with the moft regular build- ings that are to be feen in Europe. On the fouth fide of the city ftands one of the fineft, ftrongeft, and moft regular, citadels in the world, a mile in circumference; it is a pentagon compofed of five royal baf- tions, fo well contrived that they command both the city and the country. It was formerly the greateft mart and the firft port in Europe, for which it feemed to have been designed by nature; its river admitting fhips of the greateft burden to lie clofe to its banks. This was efteemed the glorious crown of the Duke of Marlbo- rough's conquelts, all made within a fortnight after the battle of Ramillies.

The Duke of Marlborough took this opportunity of going to the Hague in order to concert with their High Mightinefles the fucceeding operations of the campaign, in order to make the moft of that panic which had feized the enemy. After various confer- ences, the fieve of Oftend was at laft refolved on. Oftend is one of the five ports of Flanders; it is feat- ed on the fea-fhore in the midft of a morafs, through which there are channels which let in the fea in fuch a manner, that at high water the city feems to ftand in the midft of it. It was regularly fortified, and efteemed

one of the strongest towns in the Low Countries; its streets are handsome, and well paved, and the most uniform that are any where to be seen, because this place was built all at once; and, though their buildings are not high, yet their exact symmetry has a very happy effect. Its harbour is at once capacious and safe, and the French, till this siege was undertaken, fancied that it could not be blocked up. It stands nine miles north-east of Nieuport, eleven west of Bruges, twenty-four north-east of Dunkirk, and thirty-five almost west of Ghent. It is famous for having sustained a siege of upwards of three years, with unparalleled resolution: which siege was undertaken in the month of July 1601 by the Spanish army, during the government of the Arch-dukes Albert and Isabella, and continued till September 1604; during which space of time the Spaniards consumed 250,000 bullets, and lost 80,000 men. It was much stronger at this time, having ten good bastions well palisadoed, and large ditches filled with water from the sea; yet Velt-marshal Auverquerque reduced it under the obedience of King Charles after three days open trenches; for Count la Mothe, who commanded there, was constrained to capitulate by the towns-people, who had taken a resolution to acknowledge that prince for their sovereign. There were found in this town twenty-four colours and one standard, fifty pieces of brass cannon, forty of iron, and a great quantity of ammunition, and 300,000 weight of powder, and in the harbour there were found two men of war, one of eighty, the other of fifty, guns, and forty-five small vessels. The allies had not above 500 men killed and wounded in the siege.

Dendermonde being blocked up, it was resolved next to besiege Menin, that all Flanders might be reduced as soon as possible. Menin is one of the strongest places in Flanders, well fortified, and capable of having all the country in its neighbourhood laid under water;

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it was looked upon as the key of the French conquests in the Netherlands; and Vauban had shewn his utmost skill in the works he had raised for its defence; it was extremely well provided, and had a garrison of 4326 effective men, exclusive of officers, these amounting to 574. On the twenty-fourth of August the two armies of the allies encamped in two lines, Auverquerque's quarters being but three leagues distance from those of the Duke of Marlborough. The same day General Salisch began to work on the lines of circumvallation, which were near three leagues in extent; he had before taken possession of the sluice of Commynes, and had caused large cuts to be made there, to force the water of the Lis into another course, that the town ditches might be left dry. While the troops were employed in the siege, which the enemy's army seemed to have no inclination to interrupt, the Duke of Marlborough, accompanied by the deputies of the states, went to Brussels, in order to establish there a provisional council of state for the government of that province.

Before we return to the siege of Menin, it may not be amiss to acquaint the reader with an accident which shewed the generosity of the new French general, and the respect he had for the Duke of Marlborough. It happened on the 16th of July, that Brigadier Cadogan, going out of Courtray with a small body of horse to cover the foragers, was surprised by a superior body of the enemy's cavalry, and was carried prisoner into Tournay. On the 18th the Duke de Vendome sent him back with a compliment, importing that he would not detain a moment a person whom he knew to be so useful to his grace. The Duke of Marlborough immediately released Baron Palavicini, a major-general in the French service taken at the battle of Ramillies, by way of exchange.

It would be needless to tire the reader with a detail of a siege, in which there happened nothing remarkable

ble till the 18th of August, when, the saps on the right and left being carried as far as the salient angles of the counterscarp, the necessary dispositions were made for attacking it in the evening. The Duke of Marlborough was himself that day in the camp, and gave his orders for this extraordinary action. At seven o'clock the besiegers sprung two mines, one at each of the salient angles of the covered way, which had all the success they could wish. The signal thus given, the men marched on with all imaginable alacrity, the grenadiers advancing to the very palisades, and, throwing their grenades into the covered way, leaped in after them, and cut off all who opposed them. The enemy made a very gallant resistance, and the first five battalions suffered excessively from the prodigious fire from the place; but the grenadiers at last drove the enemy out of the covered way, and made two lodgements close to the palisades. The enemy sprung two mines during the attack; but they did but little harm; the fire however from the ravelins and other works did a great deal of execution, before the men could cover themselves, insomuch that this attack cost the allies 1400 men killed and wounded. The generals and soldiers did wonders; and the Duke of Argyle particularly distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. The same night the besieged made several signals of distress, which were answered from all the neighbouring places, which served only to let the confederate generals know how low they were reduced; for, as to the French army, it did not make the least motion to relieve them. The 20th of August, the Duke of Marlborough going to the camp to see how the siege advanced, the governor beat the chamade, hostages were exchanged about nine in the morning, and the capitulation was concluded. The garrison, consisting 4300 men, marched out, with all the usual marks of honour. There were found in the place fifty-five pieces of brass cannon, ten iron cannon, six mortars, 810 double barrels of powder,

387 double barrels of ball, with a vast quantity of provisions of all sorts. Among the artillery were four pieces marked with the arms of England, which had been taken at the fatal battle of Landen. These the Duke of Marlborough ordered to be sent to England, and directed the fortifications to be repaired.

The Duke of Marlborough determined to reduce Dendermonde next, which had been blocked up ever since the battle of Ramillies. Dendermonde is a strong town in Flanders, on the rivers Schelde and Dender, from the latter of which it receives its name. It is twelve miles east of Ghent, fourteen south-west of Antwerp, and seventeen north-west of Brussels. General Churchill, brother to the duke, was charged with this enterprise, which was very soon finished; for, having beat the enemy from an advanced redoubt, the M. de la Valle the governor caused the chamade to be beat, but the general refused to grant them any capitulation, assuring him at the same time, that if he did not surrender they would put him and his garrison to the sword. After some deliberation the town surrendered. Thus in seven days time the allies reduced a place strongly situated among the morasses, which had formerly baffled a French army commanded by the king in person; its garrison consisted of two French regiments of foot, a Spanish battalion, 700 men drawn out of several regiments, and 200 dismounted dragoons.

Brigadier Wertmuller, who commanded in Courtray, joined the allied army with his garrison on the ninth, where it passed the Schelde, in order to besiege Aeth, the reduction of which town it was intended should finish the glorious campaign. Aeth is a strong town in Hainault, seated on the Dender at the place where the rivulet of Cambron discharges itself into that river. Its fortifications were regular, and not only so, but in very good repair. The French took it in the year 1697. M. de Spinola was at this time governor, and the
Brigadier

Brigadier de St. Pierre commanded the troops, which consisted of about 2000 men. The enemy had all the time they could desire to provide for the siege, which in all probability was been a long one, if the garrison had been strong. M. d'Auverquerque commanded the siege, which had begun the 16th of September; and the Duke of Marlborough encamped at Gramez, in order to cover the siege. As Aeth was only three leagues and a half from Mons, five from Tournay, and as many from Condé, the Duke of Vendome decamped on the 15th of September, and marched to Leuza, where he covered all the three places last mentioned, his army being very numerous, tho' he had made several detachments. The trenches were opened before Aeth on the 22d, with very little loss, which was owing to a stratagem of M. d'Auverquerque; he caused a feint to be made of opening them on the north side, where the Marquis de Catinat had formerly attacked it, and where the breaches were but indifferently repaired. This drew the attention of the besieged on that side, while the trenches were actually opened on the south, the besiegers having discovered a more convenient place than on the north, and, before they were perceived, the workmen were under cover; the attack was pushed on with such vigour, that, in spite of a very bad season, the governor was constrained on the first of October to beat the chamade; it was with great difficulty he was brought to render himself and his garrison prisoners of war, though it appeared, on its marching out, that it was reduced to 800 men; so that he had been obliged to abandon several posts for want of men. M. d'Auverquerque, to testify his esteem for men who had behaved so gallantly, allowed the officers their swords, and the private men their knapsacks; he likewise gave Prince Spinola, Brigadier de St. Pierre, and two French colonels, leave to go to Paris for six weeks. The Baron de Pallandt was left with a good garrison in the place,

and General Murray was sent with thirteen battalions to fortify Courtray.

The Duke of Marlborough continued all this time encamped at Gramez. The Duke de Vendome looked on with the same tranquillity as he had done at the siege and taking of Menin; he sent however reinforcements to Mons and Charleroy, being apprehensive that the allies would still think of forming another siege this year; but his grace the Duke of Marlborough observing the season very bad, and knowing that the troops were very much fatigued, resolved to do nothing further; and therefore leaving the army on the 27th of October, under the command of M. d'Auverquerque, he set out for Brussels: his entry there was prodigiously magnificent. On the 5th of November he set out for the Hague, and on the sixth the army separated and went into winter quarters.

We must now go back to speak of the campaign in Italy; for this year was full of grand events on every side, and all these events were favourable to the allies, who were superior to the enemy in all places, and drove the French quite out of Italy. The court of France however had formed grand projects. The Marshal de Villars, who commanded upon the Rhine, was to assemble an army on the Moselle, to be put under the command of Marshal Marfin; they were to drive the Imperialists from their lines, and to oblige them afterwards to raise the blockade of fort Louis, after which Marfin was to come time enough into the Netherlands to assist the Elector of Bavaria and the Marshal de Villeroy to beat the Duke of Marlborough, before he was in a condition to undertake any thing. They were likewise to have driven King Charles out of Catalonia, and to have re-taken Barcelona; and in fine, the Duke de Vendome was to attack Prince Eugene in his quarters in the Bressian, to have forced him into the Trentine, and there to have held him at bay while the Duke de la Feuillade made the siege of Turin, an

enterprize for which all things were already got together in Piedmont. The more important these projects were, and the more wise and prudent the measures taken for putting them into execution, so much the greater surely must the glory be of those who totally defeated them, and obtained such advantages on every hand.

The Duke of Marlborough, in his negotiations at Vienna, had set the conduct of the Duke of Savoy in its proper light, insisting warmly on the intrepidity and steadiness he had shewn in defending every foot of his country against the French, and in refusing to desert the allies, even after he had almost totally lost it. By these representations he procured proper steps to be taken for supporting that prince this campaign, by sending into Italy two detachments from the grand army, one consisting of 4000 men of the troops of the elector Palatine, the other of 10,000 Hessians; he likewise prevailed on the King of Prussia to continue in Italy 8000 of his troops for another year, to send them recruits, and even three new battalions in the room of some regiments of horse which were recalled. To these steps, which were not only advised but very warmly pressed by the Duke of Marlborough, the success of Prince Eugene was wholly owing; for if any of them had been omitted, especially if the Hessians had not been sent, who but for the duke had been recalled even after they were on their march, his highness had never been able to have fought the battle of Turin, which was coup d'eclat on that side, and broke effectually all the French measures.

Prince Eugene having regulated at Vienna the operations of the campaign, went to join the Imperial troops in the Bressan, where they were quartered, under the command of General Reventlau; but his highness did not arrive till after an action had happened at Montechiaro; for, the Duke de Vendome, resolving not to let slip the advantage he had from the weakness of
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the allies and the absence of Prince Eugene, attacked the Imperialists at Montechiaro, and afterwards on the side of Calcinato. The action was very brisk for some hours, the Imperialists making the first discharge, and defending themselves with the utmost courage and resolution; they had even some advantage over the enemy, having repulsed them two or three times; but in the end they were obliged to yield to numbers, and, abandoning these two posts, retired to Gavardo, where they had placed their heavy artillery: they lost six field pieces, about 1500 men, and some colours. The Duke de Vendome however did not think fit to pursue the Imperialists to Gavardo; and, when Prince Eugene arrived in the army, not long after, he found it strong enough to prevent the Duke de Vendome from cutting off his communication with the Trentine, though he had endeavoured it by all means possible.

In this situation of things, his most Christian majesty thought proper to recall the Duke de Vendome, in order to put him at the head of his armies in Flanders; and sent in his room the Duke of Orleans into Italy, to gratify the earnest desire of that prince, who had for a long time wished to be at the head of an army; Villars was named to serve under the Duke of Orleans, but, on his entreating the king to leave him in Alsace, Marshal Marsin was sent in his stead.

The siege of Turin having been resolved upon the year before, as has been observed, the Duke de la Feuillade had taken the posts before the citadel, and had drawn his lines with an intent to attack the place on the side on which it afterwards was attacked; but, finding the troops in no condition to execute so great an enterprize at that time, it had been referred to the beginning of this campaign. The Duke of Savoy, who foresaw, from these steps, that they intended to besiege the citadel, and who was well acquainted with the front they had made choice of, took proper measures to render it such as they found it during the siege;

that is to say, he covered those works which were most exposed to their shots, with good counter-guards, which did not discover above two feet of parapet. He also caused several new works to be raised on the mountain of the Capuchins. He went himself in the month of March to visit Asti and Coni, and caused some houses and trees to be destroyed in the neighbourhood of Turin, in order to prevent the enemy's making use of them in their approaches.

All things necessary being got together, the Duke de la Feuillade assembled his army on the 12th of May, in the neighbourhood of Chivas, and from thence advanced towards Turin. The cavalry of the Duke of Savoy retired on his approach, and passed the Doria, breaking down the bridge behind them. The Duke de la Feuillade having passed the Sture, at the head of his army, went and took up his quarters the same day at la Venerie, a pleasure-house belonging to his royal highness.

The siege lasted till the 7th of September following.---On the 8th of June, the Duke de la Feuillade sent a quarter-master, with a message to the Duke of Savoy, to let his royal highness know that he had received orders from the king his master to pursue vigorously the siege of Turin, and that he had likewise charged him to enquire where the duke's quarters were, in order to prevent their being fired upon, and also to offer passports to the princesses, that they might retire out of the place wherever they thought fit. An answer full of modest resolution was returned to this menacing compliment: the quarter-master was told, that the duke's quarters were the whole city, and the citadel also in a particular manner, and that the gate of the Po was yet open for his royal highness to withdraw, when he saw proper; nevertheless he returned his majesty thanks for his offers.

Between the 8th and 9th the enemy's works drew by little and little so near as to be within musquet-shot; it

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was towards evening when the enemy began to throw some bombs into the citadel; but next day, having got ready a battery of fifteen mortars, they threw a great number into the body of the place, and into the outworks. The governor's house was beaten down, and the fire took the barracks. Between the 9th and 10th, all who inhabited the old town were obliged to desert it, and seek shelter on the other side of the castle, whither the bombs could not reach; for on this side there fell many of such prodigious weight, that they broke through the floors and vaults, shattered the houses all to pieces, without sparing so much as the principal churches, where they penetrated to the very tombs, and scattered the ashes of the dead. Between the 15th and 16th the besieged made two sallies one after another, with some success; and the besiegers opened two new trenches, one towards the attack of the citadel, and the other before the face of the bonnet which was just finished at the gate of Suza. All the troops were now commanded to retire into the mountain, to secure the important posts there. There were only eight battalions left in the town and suburbs, with a detachment of 800 men who were posted in the citadel. Things being in this situation, his royal highness resolved to send the court out of the town; and on the 17th of June the Duke of Savoy himself retired from Turin, leaving Count Dauhn and the Marquis de Carail to command in his absence. The duke eluded the pursuit of the Duke de la Feuillade; and, being come to Cervasque, retired from thence into the neighbourhood of Salusse, where he received a letter from Prince Eugene, promising that he would immediately put his troops in motion, in order to enter Piedmont with a powerful army.

The siege of Turin still continued, Count Dauhn and M. Carail acting with the greatest zeal and unanimity in defence of the place.---In the mean time the besieged heard, with great satisfaction, that a body
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of troops detached by the Duke de la Feuillade, and commanded by M. Aubeterre, had been beaten near Salusse by his royal highness the Duke of Savoy. That prince, having advice that the enemy advanced towards him, without delay went to join the grand guards posted at the avenues from Salusse. As soon as the enemy appeared in sight, he began to skirmish with them, and continued so to do for about three hours. He then sent orders to Prince Eugene's regiment of dragoons to remain in the suburb of St. Austin, and to the rest of his cavalry to pass the Po. The grand guards, reinforced by the piquets, after having briskly charged the enemy, retired continually, but within pistol-shot, and in good order, till they arrived near the suburb of St. Austin, where, finding Prince Eugene's regiment of dragoons, they joined them. This rear-guard, composed of 600 horse, were followed to the brinks of the Po by the enemy, who were superior in number. His royal highness being got into the middle of the water, considered that, in order to hinder the enemy's traversing his march cross the plain, there was a necessity of beating them now. Upon this, suddenly facing about and drawing his sword, he put himself at the head of his squadrons, charging the enemy with such vigour, that after a great slaughter he pursued them to the very walls of Salusse. After this action he joined his cavalry who had halted on the other side the Po, and, marching to Bubiano, fixed on a secure camp there. The enemy lost 700 men in this action; on the side of the duke, there were seventy private men and seven or eight officers killed and wounded.---The besieged moreover were kept in good spirits by continually hearing of the rapid successes of the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders and Brabant; and by the expectation that Prince Eugene would soon arrive to their relief.---In the night of the 13th of July there happened a very brisk fight under ground. The enemy were near a gallery which was

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on a level with the ditch towards the fortant angle of the half-moon of succours: they were about to break into it, when a miner belonging to the besieged applied a petard in the place where they were at work, and by its operation their miner was crushed to pieces. This petard opened a large hole, by which the enemy let down one of their grenadiers with a cord, who was pistoled as soon as he appeared. The enemy, enraged by this, gave abundance of ill language and threatenings: "Bring hither," cried they, "bombs and carcasses, that we may either stifle or burn these wretches." By this time some of the grenadiers were come to sustain the retrenchment; four of them were commanded to attack; they obeyed, though with reluctance, and were all killed in the attempt. At last they let down a man armed from head to foot; he opened the way to a great many soldiers, who immediately threw themselves down after him on sacks of earth: being entered, both sides began to fire, and the discharges of pistols, fusils, and grenades, rendered this pit the most dreadful place in the world. The fight had lasted much longer, if the smoke, stink, and darkness, had not allayed its fury. But, to complete the enemy's misfortunes, our miners set fire to a saucisse, whereby two mines were sprung, which overturned their battery so effectually, that their tools and miners, cannon and canoniers, sunk all together, and were entirely covered with earth.

Two attacks were made on the night of the 26th, an account of which we shall give in the words of a person who was in Turin during the whole siege: "Between the 26th and 27th, we heard about one o'clock in the morning a discharge of five pieces of cannon, which we could not but take for the signal of an attack, since the enemy were not wont to fire in the night. This discharge was followed by a shower of twenty-bombs, and by a vast quantity of stones and of drake-shot. The enemy at the same time rushed out of their

trenches, animating one another to the assault with loud cries. They approached with scaling ladders and a vast quantity of fascines, endeavouring to climb to the point of the half-moon and the counter-guards, which seemed to us so little accessible, that we contented ourselves with leaving there the ordinary number of men, which were however not able to hinder them from effecting it; after which they began to make a lodgement on the half-moon with sacks of wool. Our soldiers who guarded the half-moon retired into the ditch of the lunette, and preserved as yet the traverses to the right and left. These, as soon as our grenadiers arrived, came out of the traverses and joined them, in order to fall all together upon the enemy with fixed bayonets and sword in hand; they drove the enemy into the ditch, where they were saluted with a shower of our grenades, though we at the same time felt the weight of their bombs. However the assailants rallied, and, being reinforced with fresh troops, they returned with more fury than ever to the assault of the half-moon. They brought gabions, that they might mount it with more security, and ranged them on both sides the whole length of the beach, from the foot of the ditch to the point of the half-moon. We from above threw down grenades and sacks of powder, and the light all round was so great, that we perfectly discerned the enemy from the embrasures of the flanks and face of our bastions, so that our artillery, loaded with cartridge-shot, raked them on both sides the whole length of the ditch. We threw also fire-balls into the ditch, which rendered it as light as at noon, so that we fired upon them from beneath, from above, and in flank: for their gabions, which they had not time to place properly, were easily overturned by our cannon-shot. Such was the carnage we made, that, notwithstanding the joy we conceived at repulsing them, yet we could not help pitying their condition. Those on the brink of the half-moon were cut to pieces, those

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who got upon the works were almost all knocked on the head, and those who sustained them were beaten to pieces in the ditch. This dismal scene was finished by another still more dismal: the vast pile at the head of the beach, of gaudrons, fireballs, sacks of powder, grenades, and bombs, all of a sudden took fire. What a turn was this! most of our soldiers perished in a moment, and abundance of brave officers with them; the half-moon seemed one great fire, the flame and the smoke reached the clouds; grenades and bombs were every where bursting; the sudden burst of light and the prodigious clap that followed it, stunned the defendants, astonished the assailants, and struck both parties with fear. We were obliged at last to abandon a post which the enemy could never otherwise have taken. For a while all things were in suspense, but after a time those who were posted in the shoulder of the faces of the half-moon at the breach and in the traverses began again to fire. The enemy bent all their endeavours to make a lodgment on the broadest part of the parapet at the point of the counter-guards, while we remained within the traverses. We continued to fire upon them briskly all night, with a full resolution to attack and drive them out of the counter-guards as soon as it was day. After our grenadiers had refreshed themselves a little, we prepared for the assault between nine and ten in the morning. On the signals of three bombs, our grenadiers rushed out at once upon the enemy by the parapet of the counter-guards, and by the ditch, charging them so briskly that in a moment they drove them out of the counter-guards and out of a gallery which they had begun in the ditch. We made all imaginable haste to ruin their lodgments, for we saw marching towards us, on all sides, the troops which were in their trenches, supported by a great many battalions, with drums beating and colours flying; but the terrible fire which we made, rather than the regret of passing over the bodies of

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their dead men, and treading out the last breath of those who were dying, obliged them to desist from their enterprize. These two actions, of which the first lasted five hours, were the briskest that can ever happen in a siege. We lost 400 men, and about thirty officers either killed or burnt, among whom some were persons of great distinction, on account of their birth and of their valour. The rest of the day was employed in repairing the counter-guard of the half-moon, in which, for its better defence, we planted two small pieces of cannon. Deserters assured us, that on this occasion we killed the enemy more than 1000 grenadiers and a like number of other soldiers. The Duke de la Feuillade had written to the king his master, two hours before, that a lodgment was made on the counter-guards; then he took the road of Chivas, in order to carry the Duke of Orleans this news, but he was soon overtaken with advice that we had repossessed ourselves of the counter-guards. How much soever he might be displeased with this news, it hindered not his going on to the Duke of Orleans, and telling him the same tale he had written his most Christian majesty."

Between the 28th and 29th, at the shutting in of night, the besieged heaped up in the ditch a vast quantity of brush-wood and faggots, which, when lighted, the violence of the fire penetrated so far that it burnt some galleries that the enemy had begun in the ditch. A bomb also fell into a magazine belonging to the French; and the grenades and bombs which were piled up there blew up with a tremendous noise, carrying with it the arms, hats, clothes of the soldiers, and every thing that lay in its way: the cartridges designed for the cannon, and the vast heaps of paper of which those cartridges are made, were also blown up, and, tearing all to pieces in the air, presented as they fell, through a very thick smoke, the resemblance of a mighty shower of snow in the midst of summer.

Count

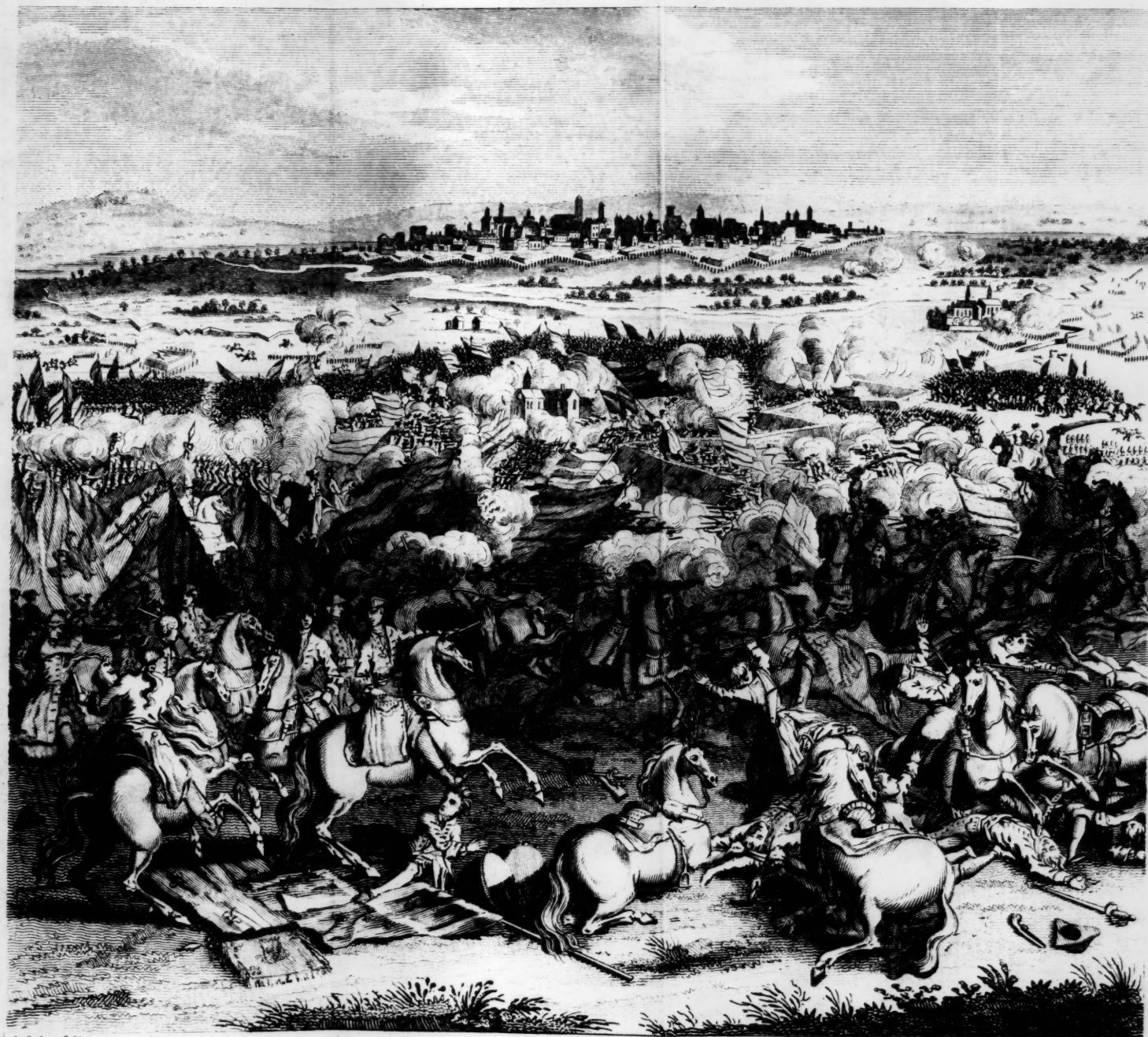
Count Dhaun, who happened to be on the counterscarp of St. Maurice, was transported with joy at this scene; he gave money amongst the bombardiers, and held out a letter from Prince Eugene in his hand, wherein he informed him that he would by the 29th of this month, at farthest, be at Nice, and that he would march night and day to come to their assistance. On the 29th, about midnight, four of the enemy's grenadiers, all in armour, got secretly into the ditch of the half moon, passed the counterscarp, and reached the door of the gallery which leads into the place; these were however immediately knocked down, as were three others who followed them; but, being seconded by ten or twelve more, would have entered pell mell the grand gallery; but one of our miners, with the man that was with him, took a resolution to shut the door against them, which was at the mouth of the staircase by which they went down from the upper gallery to the lower. This miner, hearing them attempting to break the door open with hatchets, pressed his companion to lay the train to the saucisse; and being more impatient than the other, "*Get you gone,*" said he, taking him by the arm, "*leave me to do it, save thyself;*" then, applying the match too near the end of the saucisse, it took fire, sprung the mine, leaving the poor man too little time to escape, for he was found dead about forty paces from the stair-case, by which he had run down.

Thus we have given some of the most remarkable incidents of this long and memorable siege. We are now approaching to the point (the 7th of September) which was to decide the fate of the famous city of Turin, which from the 26th of May, the day whereon the trenches were opened, had sustained a sharp siege to this time. But how shall we represent the mighty pains it cost to defend it? Who would not be astonished at the multitude of prodigious works raised before the town in so short a time, the works added to them afterwards,

terwards, the posts fortified on the mountain, the pits sunk, and the galleries carried every where underground? Such as have viewed all these, and have considered them strictly, can hardly help thinking they were raised by miracle; those who have only heard of them will never be able to form an idea adequate to the state of things there. To assist his imagination a little, we ought to throw before his eyes the infinite number of tools necessary in a siege, palisades, planks, gabions, sacks of earth, in such quantity, that the citadel would not have been able to have contained them, had they been brought thither all at once; for under the article only of repairing the fortifications there was spent near 2,000,000 of fascines. It would be incredible should we make a calculation of the powder spent in the discharges of small arms, filling grenades, making all sorts of fire-works, besides what was consumed by the artillery, mortars and mines. The besieged threw 6000 bombs, made 75,000 general discharges of cannon, and threw near 8000 stones from their mortars, without reckoning what was made use of in the mines great and small. In a word, all the dominions of his highness contributed to the defence of his capital, the provinces spared men, such as were possessed of effects contributed out of them, and the rich opened their coffers to supply the necessities induced by the siege: in fine, all ranks and degrees of people did their duty, and the soldiery in a particular manner, new-listed men behaving like veterans, and every soldier like a picked grenadier. Yet must it not be supposed that this garrison suffered nothing in so long a siege: on the contrary, desertion, sickness, wounds, and men killed outright, diminished it by above 5000, and amongst these 150 officers, many of whom were of the most illustrious families.

The army of the Imperialists under Prince Eugene, by long and painful marches, arrived to the succour of Turin the first week in September. The prince, having

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The Battle of Turin.

Published May 1 1849.

having joined the Duke of Savoy, resolved to attack the enemy. The Duke of Orleans, and the Marshal de Marfin, who commanded the French army, had strongly fortified themselves with entrenchments, which extended all the way between the Doria and the Stura, at the junction of which rivers the city of Turin stands. Though the enemy had made little impression on the works, yet the garrison began to be in great danger, through the want of ammunition. This was what determined the prince to come to immediate action. As soon as the sun rose in the morning of the 7th, the Imperialists were drawn up in the plain. They marched directly towards the French lines. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene led them on. The right was commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Gotha, who had under him the Counts Kinigsbeck, Harrach, and Bonneval; Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg commanded the left; the Prince of Anhalt-Deßau, with the Prussian troops, were posted at the extremity of this wing; the centre was commanded by Lieutenant velt-marshal Rebinder; and the Baron Krichbaum commanded the horse; the body of reserve being committed to the Marquis of Langallerie. The whole marched in columns: of these the infantry composed eight, four in the first line, and four in the second; the cavalry followed in the same order. All the grenadiers of the army detached from their respective regiments formed six corps: by these the attack was begun: the artillery was placed between the columns of foot, with every thing belonging to it.

As soon as they were got as high as the village of Alteßan, the lines began to form. The cavalry was also drawn up in order, sufficient intervals being left between the battalions for the squadrons to pass if there should be occasion. The grenadiers advanced at the head of the lines, and in this order they continued to march till they were within half a cannon-shot of the retrenchments; from whence the enemy ceased

not firing impetuously on our troops. We answered them on our side first with fifteen pieces on the left, and afterwards with all we had. On this signal, Count Dhaun, governor of Turin, knowing that we were engaged, ordered the twelve battalions to fall from the gate of the palace. While the cannonading lasted, the Imperialists suffered very much. Their shot reached no farther than the parapets, and did no execution; while the enemy's flew directly into the lines; this made the soldiers impatient to come to close quarters, and was the cause that they were permitted to begin the attack a little sooner than was intended.

The Prussian infantry, under the command of the Prince of Anhalt, charged first on the right. Their behaviour was very fierce and soldier-like, for they advanced resolutely and in good order to the very foot of the intrenchment, but there they suffered some disorder. On this the brigade of Wirtemberg was ordered to advance with all possible diligence on the right of the left, being composed of five Imperial regiments. The Palatine troops under General Rebinder being in the centre, and the Prince of Saxe Gotha on the right of all with his own troops, some Dutch and Austrians. The fire became general then along the line; and it was very brisk on both sides for somewhat more than half an hour, during which the combatants seemed to be separated by a cloud of smoke and sulphur, which hindered them from advancing to each other. Prince Eugene, impatient of delay, advanced with his horse to the side of the Prussians; then putting himself at their head, together with the Prince of Anhalt, he led them up directly to the retrenchments; the troops followed with great cheerfulness and alacrity, proud of the preference that was given them, and resolute in shewing how well they deserved the honour that was done them on this occasion. In vain did the French discharge on them a shower of bullets and grenades, they passed the ditch, mounted the retrenchment, and took

took post there. Prince Eugene exposed himself in the midst of this great fire as much as any private man. One of his pages and another of his domestics were killed behind him; he himself had a fall from his horse. The soldiers were much concerned to see him down, but he immediately revived them by rising briskly and making a sign with his hat that he had received no wound. He was immediately remounted, after which he led on the troops as before.

The Prince of Wirtemberg in the mean time advanced also with the five Imperial regiments under his command; he forced the retrenchment, and demolished that part of it through which he entered, in order to facilitate the passage of the cavalry. In the centre the Baron de Bruder with his troops fell in upon the enemy; the Palatine troops exerted themselves to the utmost, in order to mount the retrenchment, and the enemy on the other hand did all they could to hinder them; this produced great slaughter on both sides; at last they carried it, and got on the other side; his royal highness of Savoy passed with them, and they immediately levelled the retrenchment, in which they took post.

The Prince of Saxe Gotha on the right had not as yet pushed the enemy from their post, because they were stronger there than in any other place; being in possession of the castle of Lucengue, from whence they made a terrible fire, without being exposed. The attack lasted more than an hour and a half; and in the mean time the cavalry in their centre, taking the advantage of our having levelled their lines, forced one of those passages, penetrated into the Imperial camp, and attempted to attack the Saxon infantry in flank; they were repulsed however by the horse, who charged them very briskly, and when they were once broke they carried in their retreat fear and confusion amongst their own party. The Prince of Saxe Gotha then forced the retrenchment, in spite of all the fire of the castle
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of Lucengue.---Victory began now to declare herself. The retrenchment was forced on all hands, and the Imperial cavalry had taken post therein. The enemy however rallied on their right, and formed a line, having none to oppose them but cavalry, and before them a large and spacious field. When the infantry of the second line with the cannon were come up, a new action followed, and in consequence thereof a new victory. The enemy was every where obliged to fly in separate bodies. When they found all was lost, they took all of a sudden a resolution to abandon their camp, and retired thereupon with the utmost precipitation; they forgot not however to set fire to their magazines. The most considerable of these was that in the church of Podestra, which blew up about six in the evening, the explosion of which shook all the houses in the town. This magazine in blowing up set fire to several others in the neighbourhood, so that this quarter was entirely destroyed, over-turned, and burnt. An accident much resembling this destroyed Marshal Marfin, who, having been dangerously wounded in the action, was carried into a poor house at a small distance from the field of battle, to which place Prince Eugene sent him a guard, as he desired, and he afterwards began to dictate letters for the court of France, but he had not time to make an end of them. Some powder thereabouts took fire, and filled the little house he was in so full of thick smoke that he was stifled; he is reported to have said when dying, that, if any thing could console him for the loss of life, it was not his surviving the glory of his master's arms.

Marshal Marfin was the only man of rank killed in this engagement on the side of the French, but there were several of note wounded, and among them the Duke of Orleans himself; the prisoners amounted to upwards of 6000 men, and of these upwards of 300 were officers. The number of the slain was not supposed to exceed 2000 men, without including how-

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ever such as were drowned in the Po or the Doria, nor those who died afterwards of their wounds. On the side of the Imperialists there fell fifteen hundred men, amongst whom was the Prince of Brunswick Beveren.

The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene in the mean time took a view of the enemy's lines, and gave the orders necessary on such an occasion for securing the magazines and ammunition, for encamping the troops, and for preventing that licentiousness and disorder which an army generally falls into when it comes to pillage. They employed to this end two or three hours: after this they entered the city through an innumerable croud of people, and went to the cathedral. The archbishop clad in his pontifical robes, and followed by his clergy, received them at the gate, and conducted them to the choir, where *Te Deum* was sung to return thanks for the glorious victory of that day, and the happy deliverance of the city, which was the first-fruits thereof. The last powder in the place was fired away in salvos to this *Te Deum*: this was now known, because Count Dhaun did not think fit longer to conceal it, but till then nobody knew it. It was believed indeed they had not much, and they were afraid of wanting in case the siege continued much longer, so that here was a new subject of thankfulness to God for so happy a deliverance, and for acknowledging of his goodness in sending such powerful succours, and in so critical a time; for in short had they come eight days later Turin had been taken, and the Duke of Savoy entirely ruined. After divine service was over, the princes went to sup at Count Dhaun's, where they were treated in a much more magnificent manner than could have been well expected in a city besieged four months; however there was nothing very extraordinary in this, since there was provision enough found in the enemy's camp, not only to furnish this, but a great many other tables.

Great quantities of valuable things were found in the camp before Turin, in the head quarters at Lucengue, at the old park, on the mountain, &c. for it is chiefly in sieges that the French generals make a display of their riches, and here they carried off nothing but their persons. Their tents, equipages, horses, mules, cattle, plate, linen, and clothes, all fell a prey to the soldiers, the townsmen, and peasants. The artillery which was taken in the camp, on the batteries, and in the field of battle, amounted to 164 pieces of cannon and fifty-six mortars; bombs, grenades, tools and engines of war necessary in mines and in batteries, were found in vast heaps at the batteries and in the magazines.

The glory of this victory was every way complete, and surpassed the very hopes of the well-wishers to the house of Austria, since it delivered Turin, cleared his royal highness of Savoy's dominions, and in fine all Italy, from the terror of the French armies. Thus ended an undertaking which cost France more than any other enterprise during the war. If the conduct of the French was wrong before Turin, the measures taken after the battle were yet more so; the retreat of the Duke of Orleans towards Pignerol was the ruin of the French affairs in Italy, and a step so irrecoverably false, that it only served to expose him the more, when he confessed it by endeavouring to make his army re-enter Piedmont, though all his endeavours proved abortive, for the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene were as vigilant and active as the French generals had been remiss.

The Duke of Savoy let not a moment slip after the glorious victory he had obtained, but applied himself immediately to the driving the French troops out of Piedmont, the Milaneze, the Cremoneze, the Mantuan, and the duchy of Modena. The Baron de Krichbaum falling sick, his command was given to Count Konigsec, who took possession of Chivas,

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wherein he found twelve pieces of cannon and a great quantity of ammunition, the garrison consisting of 1500 men, who were made prisoners of war.

On the 19th Novara was invested; its garrison consisted of a detachment of 200 Italian foot, 300 Swifs, and 150 Spaniards. On the 20th the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene arrived in the camp before that place; the garrison demanded immediately to capitulate, but could only obtain leave to march out without cannon or other marks of honour. This was a very important post, and therefore the Imperialists made it afterwards a place of arms, and established a magazine there, General Zumzungen being left therein with his own regiment and fifty horse. On the 21st the garrison of Crescentin surrendered at discretion, and the fort of Bar was likewise surrendered.

On the 24th his royal highness advanced to Corsino, where he was met by the deputies of the magistrates of the town of Milan, who made their submission to him. The duke then proposed terms to the Marquis de la Florida, who commanded in the castle; but that officer, who had been already in twenty-four sieges, thanked his royal highness, and gave him for answer, That he would neither accept these nor any other. the siege of the citadel was then turned into a blockade, and it held out till the treaty for the neutrality of Italy was signed. In the mean time Count Dhaun caused Pavia to be invested, its garrison consisting of two battalions of foot and a regiment of horse: they were disposed to make a very gallant resistance, but on a sudden the townsmen mutinied, took up arms, and obliged them to capitulate. They marched out therefore on the 1st of October with six pieces of cannon, and all other marks of honour. Count Dhaun found here 3000 sacks of meal, a fine train of artillery, and a large quantity of ammunition.

On the 3d the army marched to Castione, between Lodi and Pizzighitone, and the Duke of Savoy immediately

mediately resolved upon besieging the last-mentioned place, while Prince Eugene besieged Tortona: the former of these places held out three weeks; the commander obtained leave to retire with all his troops to Cremona, with their arms, baggage, four pieces of cannon, and all other marks of honour. Prince Eugene having taken Tortona, and left a detachment to besiege the castle, passed the Bormio on the 16th with the rest of his army, in order to besiege Alexandria, which had been invested by the Prince of Anhalt, where some days before there happened a very unlucky accident: a bomb setting fire to a magazine of powder, it blew up, and in so doing overturned two monasteries, and buried a thousand persons in the ruins. On the 21st the garrison were compelled by the townsmen, frightened at the accident before-mentioned, to surrender prisoners of war. About this time it was that the Duke of Orleans made some efforts to re-enter Italy, in which being disappointed, and his presence being of no further use in the army, he quitted it to return to Versailles.

The Duke of Savoy assisted by Prince Eugene and the many brave general officers he brought with him into Italy went on from day to day reducing the several towns and fortresses in which the Duke of Orleans had left garrisons when he quitted Italy; and, among other places, of the castle of Domodossola, which commanded the last passage open towards France.

The duke, being returned into Piedmont, caused the post of Veillane to be fortified, that the entrance into the plain of Turin might be rendered more difficult; and when this was done he determined to besiege Casal. On the 23d of November the trenches were opened with the loss of 150 men: on the 6th of December the place beat the chamade, and the governor demanded permission to retire with his garrison, their baggage and six pieces of cannon; but the Duke of Savoy refused to grant any other terms than being made priso-

ners of war, on which hostilities were again begun; but, on the duke threatening to storm the place, the governor submitted, his garrison consisting of 1900 men, amongst whom were sixty-five officers; there were found in the place sixty-six pieces of cannon, a prodigious quantity of powder, and vast stores of ammunition and provisions. This was the last enterprize of the allies in this campaign; and a glorious campaign it was for them; for, in the course of only a few days, Modena, Mantua, Milan, Piedmont, and the kingdom of Naples, were lost to the house of Bourbon.

We now come to speak of the naval operations of this year. It being thought necessary by all means to keep up a strong force at sea, the following resolutions were passed in the house on that subject: 1. That, in order to man the navy for the year 1706, the justices of peace, and other civil magistrates, be empowered and directed to make search after seamen that lay concealed. 2. That the said justices and civil magistrates cause such seamen, when found, to be delivered to such persons as should be appointed to receive them. 3. That a penalty should be laid upon such persons as should presume to conceal seamen. 4. That a reward be given to such persons as should discover and take up such hidden seamen. 5. That conduct-money be allowed. 6. That seamen, being turned over from one ship to another, should receive the wages due on the former ship. 7. That able-bodied landmen be raised for the sea service.---To bring these resolutions to effect, they ordered, that the committee to whom the bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen, &c. was committed, should have power to receive a clause, or clauses, pursuant thereunto, and to receive a clause for discharging such seamen, and other insolvent prisoners as were in prison for debt, and delivering them into her majesty's service on-board the fleet; which, being passed into an act, received the royal assent March 19. The same day the lords addressed

dressed her majesty on the same subject, praying her to take it into her royal care, and employ proper persons to consider of effectual means to restore the discipline of the navy, in order to be laid before the parliament the beginning of the next session. Pursuant to which, her majesty, a few days after, caused a long proclamation to be published for the better putting in execution the act of parliament above-mentioned.

Sir John Leake, who had been left in the Mediterranean with a squadron, in proceeding to Lisbon, where he was appointed to winter, met with such a long continuance of bad weather, that he was thirteen weeks on his passage thither from the coast of Catalonia, which had so greatly reduced the provisions on-board, that the allowance of bread was no more than two pounds a-week for each man; and, when thus scantily dealt out, it was only enough to furnish five weeks subsistence. In this distress the admiral fell in with a fleet of victuallers off Cape St. Vincent, which had been sent from England, and which brought them very seasonable relief. Soon after the admiral's arrival in the Tagus, he received dispatches from the lord high-admiral, informing him of the galleons which were fitting out at Cadiz for the Spanish West-Indies, which he was instructed to endeavour to intercept; the King of Portugal likewise represented to Mr. Methuen the necessity that there was for a squadron of force to put to sea, in order to meet and escort the homeward-bound Brazil fleet; the admiral had also pressing orders from home to succour Barcelona, which was then exposed to the French fleet by sea, and the army of Philip by land. In order to effect all these purposes, it was resolved, in a council of war, to proceed immediately to sea with all the ships, consisting of nine third rates, one fourth, two frigates, two fire-ships, and one bomb-vessel, English; six ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and a bomb-vessel, Dutch; and to proceed to the bay of Cadiz, there to
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endeavour to take or destroy the galleons. A considerable reinforcement of men of war was expected from England, and with them some transports and troops for Catalonia; and, upon a junction with these, the other two objects of the expedition were intended to be pursued. When this plan of conduct was resolved upon, the admiral acquainted the English ambassador, Mr. Methuen, that it would be necessary to lay an embargo on all ships and vessels, that the enemy might have no intelligence of the design that was formed. The court of Portugal thereupon ordered the embargo to be laid. Nothing is more uncertain than the success of the best-formed project; the failure of this arose from an unexpected quarter. Our admiral got under sail on the 24th day of February; but, when he was near the bar at the mouth of the Tagus, several shot were fired at him from St. Julian's Castle, which obliged him to come to an anchor. Upon enquiring the reason of this extraordinary conduct, the commanding officer under the Duke de Cadaval, who was the governor, said, "that he had orders not to suffer any ship of war, or merchantman, to pass the bar." It was now necessary to send an express to Lisbon, to procure an exemption for the fleet of the allies from the general embargo; in consequence of which it could not proceed until the next morning. A secret disposition to thwart the measures of the allies, was the true reason why the general restriction was so absurdly extended to them whom it was meant to serve: at the same time ships were suffered to pass, by whom the Spaniards are supposed to have been informed of the destination of the combined fleet. So effectual were French intrigues at the court of Portugal! On the 27th, Sir John Leake reached Cape St. Vincent; and, proceeding eastwardly to Cape St. Mary's, he spread out his fleet, so as to intercept the galleons, should they quit the harbour of Cadiz before he could reach it. The same night the Dutch vice-admiral Wassenaar sent

sent advice, that the galleons had failed the day before their arrival. So that, by the impediment which had been thrown in the way of the fleet's quitting the Tagus, the opportunity was lost for intercepting the wealth of Spain. Two Spanish ships were taken, the masters of whom acknowledged, that the galleons had failed in consequence of secret intelligence received from Lisbon. After thus missing of their prey, opposing winds retarded the arrival of Sir John Leake at Gibraltar until the middle of March, when he received an account of the perilous situation of the Spanish monarch Charles III. in Barcelona.

To understand the present posture of affairs in Catalonia, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the transactions which had taken place in those parts, in which the interests of this Austrian claimant to the crown of Spain were involved. No sooner was Barcelona, and with it Catalonia, reduced the last year, than the active spirit of the Earl of Peterborough led him to attempt the reduction of the kingdom of Valencia to the allegiance of Charles; leaving therefore the king in the city of Barcelona, he proceeded, with the greatest part of the troops, on this expedition, in the midst of winter. On the side of Portugal, the English and Portuguese took the field early in the spring: their army amounted to 40,000 men, which was commanded by the Earl of Galway and the Marquis de Las-Minas. These generals entered Estramadura, took Alcantara, forced Ciudad-Rodrigo, Salamanca, and the post of Espinar, in the kingdom of Leon. The French and Spaniards, in the mean time, were projecting the destruction of King Charles's affairs at a blow. Philip V. caused a numerous body of troops, commanded by Marshal Tessé, to march against Barcelona, where his rival then was, with a weak garrison, and ill prepared in every other respect for a vigorous defence; while the Count Thoulouse blocked up the harbour with all the naval force of France.

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The Earl of Peterborough hereupon hastened to the relief of the place, which was invested by sea and land the beginning of March; so that he found it impracticable to enter the city. He nevertheless maintained his post upon the hills, and with amazing courage and activity kept the besiegers in continual alarm.

The earl, in passing from Barcelona to Genoa, to negotiate some affairs, in the *Resolution*, a seventy-gun ship, commanded by his youngest son Captain Mordaunt, in company with the envoy from Charles III. to the Duke of Savoy, fell in with six large French ships. Peterborough and the envoy immediately went on-board a small frigate which accompanied the ship, and thereby happily escaped to Oneglia, while Captain Mordaunt set sail to escape the enemy; but finding that impossible, and having received considerable damage in the engagement, he ran the ship ashore, under the cannon of the castle of Vintimiglia, belonging to the Genoese, who gave him no assistance. The captain was soon after disabled by a shot in his thigh, and carried on-shore; the French commodore then manned all the boats of his squadron, in order to board the *Resolution*, under a continued fire of one of their seventy-gun ships. The English, however, defended their ship with great bravery, and drove back all the boats. The next morning a French eighty-gun ship brought to under the *Resolution's* stern; which raked her terribly; and, no possibility of escape being left, the captain, with the concurrence of all his officers, directed her to be set on fire, after all the men were safely got on-shore.

Sir John Leake, having been joined by six English and as many Dutch men of war, in the beginning of April set sail for the relief of Barcelona, with thirty sail of the line, having received a letter from Charles, entreating his immediate assistance. On the 18th of April he arrived at Altea Bay, where he was joined by Sir George Byng and Commodore Walker. On the

26th the Earl of Peterborough came on-board the fleet, and hoisted the union flag, as admiral and commander in chief. By the contrivance of Sir George Byng a considerable body of troops had been thrown into the town; and no sooner did the whole fleet appear, than Count Thoulouse quitted his station, and made the best of his way to Toulon. In three days after his departure, Marshal Tessé raised the siege in the utmost confusion, leaving his sick and wounded behind him, and a letter recommending them to the humanity of the Earl of Peterborough; he left behind him a train of 106 pieces of brass cannon, forty-seven mortars, 2000 bombs, 10,000 grenades, 40,000 cannon shot, 500 barrels of musquet shot, 5000 barrels of powder, 8000 swords, 18,000 sacks of corn, besides flour, rye, and oats in great abundance. It is hard to account for this precipitate retreat, and still more hard to assign a reason why such quantities of military stores and provisions should have been left undestroyed. It has been supposed to have been occasioned by a superstitious terror which had seized the Spanish troops, upon an almost total eclipse of the sun, which happened on the 12th day of May, and overspread the country with a sudden darkness. Thus was Charles rescued from impending ruin, by the sudden and powerful interposition of the fleet.

Nothing now remained to impede the operations at sea; Alicant was soon reduced by Sir George Byng; Carthagená submitted; and, in the month of September, the islands of Ivica and Majorca were attacked; the possession thereof being found extremely necessary to the allies, both on account of the harbours which they presented for the safe retreat of their shipping, and because they were capable of furnishing provisions for the towns which had been subjected to Charles.

Sir John Leake appeared before Ivica on the 9th of September. This island, which is about fourscore miles in circuit, abounds with corn, wine, fruit, salt; and

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and the inhabitants, being a trading people, were rather inclined to submit to the allies than to remain under their old government; and therefore, on the first summons, they sent deputies to make their submission, which was readily accepted, and Charles III. was proclaimed.---On the 13th the fleet sailed for Majorca, and arrived on the 14th before Palma its capital. This island, one of the finest in the world, abounding with all the necessaries of life, well planted and well peopled, and so large as to be once accounted a kingdom, was at this time governed by Count Alcudia, who was a native of the place. He was warmly in the interest of King Philip; and, when the admiral summoned him, sent him a Spanish answer, "that he would defend the island as long as there was a man in it." But upon throwing three or four bombs into the place, which did no great mischief, the inhabitants rose, and forced the viceroy to surrender. He shewed his wisdom, however, where he could not shew his courage, by making a very prudent capitulation. Sir John Leake left a garrison in Porto-Pin, and two men of war to carry off the governor, and such other of the inhabitants as were disaffected to King Charles; and on the 23d of the same month he prosecuted his voyage for England. Before his departure, he received a letter from his Catholic majesty, who very gratefully acknowledged the services he had done him, and expressed the highest satisfaction as to his conduct on all occasions. On the 2d of October Sir John passed the Straits, and on the 4th, when he was off the South Cape, detached Sir George Byng, with the winter squadron, for Lisbon. On the 17th he arrived safe at St. Helen's, having been separated in a storm from the rest of the fleet, which came soon after into Portsmouth.

Meanwhile the Earl of Galway prosecuted his successes on the western side of Spain so effectually, that he penetrated even to the city of Madrid. Philip was

thereupon obliged to abandon his capital, and remove his court to Burgos. The English and the Portuguese entered the city in triumph; and, to complete the misfortunes of the Bourbon king of Spain, he at the same time received an account of the defection of Carthage, and the activity of the combined fleet in the Mediterranean. But for the unaccountable errors committed by the conquerors, the Spanish crown would have been for ever transferred from the house of Bourbon. Intoxicated by success, they wasted that time, which should have been employed in vigorous exertions, in riot and debauchery. At length Philip, roused to activity by the desperate state of his affairs, drew together a large army, at the head of which he marched to recover his capital. Galway and Las-Minas were now in their turn forced to retire. Having joined Charles, their king of Spain, they passed with him into the kingdom of Valencia; and disposed their quarters in such a manner as to cover the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, as well as to open an uninterrupted communication with Castile. The Duke of Berwick, however, hung close on their retreat; and, before the end of the campaign, retook Carthage.

The operations of the war were so widely spread, that we are obliged to speak of them according to their locality, without strictly adhering to the precise order of time in which they took place. A Frenchman, who had assumed the title and character of the Marquis de Guiscard, had insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of Henry St. John, secretary of war, and formed the plan of an expedition to the coast of France. Such was the reliance placed on the intelligence which this adventurer communicated, that 10,000 land forces were put on-board transports, the command of which was given to the Earl of Rivers, a man of a profligate character, and venal principles, but personally brave. Sir Cloudesly Shovel had the command of the fleet, which sailed from Plymouth

mouth on the 13th of August. Next day they were forced into Torbay by contrary winds; and there they held a council of war to concert their operations, when they discovered that Guiscard's plan was altogether chimerical, or at least founded on such slight assurances and conjectures, as could not justify their carrying it into execution. An express was immediately dispatched to the admiralty, informing them of the result of this council; at the same time advices were received from the Earl of Galway, with an account of his retreat from Madrid to Valencia, and earnestly soliciting immediate and effectual succours. The destination of the grand armament was hereupon changed, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was ordered to proceed directly for Lisbon, and there to take such farther measures as the state of the war in Spain should render necessary. Guiscard being set on shore, the fleet got under sail, and towards the latter end of October arrived at Lisbon. From thence the admiral sent Colonel Worsley to King Charles and the Earl of Galway, in order to receive from the king himself and his general, a certain account of their affairs, and to settle the nature of the service which the fleet should perform. Before the return of this officer, the King of Portugal died, and was succeeded by John his eldest son, then eighteen years of age, who was even more than his father influenced by a ministry who maintained a private correspondence with the court of Versailles.---Whilst the admiral continued here with his fleet, some ships which he had appointed to cruise, in sailing out of the harbour were fired at from the fort. Shovel, greatly incensed at this outrage, complained to the ministry, who endeavoured to palliate the injury, by imputing such conduct to a mistake in the governor, who they said had orders to fire at and detain a Genoese ship, whose master was indebted to the king. But, the admiral being certainly informed that this very ship was then lying before the walls of the city of Lisbon, he gave them to understand,

stand, in a manner which became one of his consequence so insulted, that, if another gun was fired at any English ship, he would not stay for orders from his mistress, but take satisfaction from the mouth of his cannon. This spirited declaration produced a very good effect, by procuring the English better treatment, although it could not be supposed to change the disposition of the Portuguese ministry.

One of the cruisers which had been sent from Lisbon was the Romney, a fifty-gun ship, commanded by Captain William Cony. He was joined by the Milford and Fowey, two fifth-rate men of war, in Gibraltar bay, on the 12th day of December. Intelligence was received that a French ship of sixteen guns, having on-board thirty pieces of brass cannon, which had been saved out of the ships which Sir John Leake ran ashore, that were commanded by M. de Pointis, then lay at anchor under the guns of Malaga. Captain Cony hereupon resolved to attack her; in proceeding thither, one of his ships was disabled, and the other was separated from him, which, however, did not discourage him from making the attempt, in which he was so successful as to cut her from her anchors, notwithstanding a continued fire was kept up from the batteries, and carried her safe into Gibraltar. On the 26th day of the same month, he gave chase to another French ship, called the Content, that carried sixty-four guns. To escape the English, the captain ran the ship under the cannon of a small fort, about eight leagues west of Almeria. Captain Cony, being now rejoined by the Milford and Fowey, anchored before him, and the three ships plied their guns very briskly for upwards of two hours, when the French ship took fire, and soon after blew up, by which a great part of her crew were destroyed. This ship had been detached by Monsieur Villars, who was cruising with a squadron of French ships between Cape Palos and Cape de Gates, to escort the smaller vessels with the brass ordnance, that had

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been before cut out of Malaga harbour. In the beginning of January this vigilant officer took another French ship, called the Mercury, of forty-two guns, which some merchants of France had fitted out as a privateer.

The power of Louis XIV. was now so weakened and broken on all sides, that he whom all Europe had formerly dreaded, now, in his old age, excited its pity. So much was his haughty spirit reduced by his misfortunes, that he employed the Elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the Duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States-general, containing proposals for opening a congress. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial presented by the Marquis d'Alegre; he likewise besought the pope to interpose in his behalf; he offered to cede either Spain and the West-Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to King Charles: to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands; and to indemnify the Duke of Savoy for the ravages that had been committed in his dominions. But the Dutch were intoxicated with success, and their pensionary Heinfius was entirely influenced by the Duke of Marlborough, who found his account in the continuance of the war, as it brought him every year a fresh accession of glory, and what was to him equally dear, an immense revenue. During the whole war, the allies never had such an opportunity as they now enjoyed, to bridle the power of France effectually, and to secure the liberties of Europe. They had indeed lost sight of the motives which led them to enter into the war; for, had they aimed at no more than to establish an equal balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, it could not have been better effected, than by dividing the Spanish monarchy between these two potentates. The accession of Spain, with all its appendages, to either, would have destroyed the equilibrium which the allies proposed to settle. The confederacy were therefore

led to continue the war from less noble considerations; the powers leagued against Louis were now fired with the ambition of making conquests; and England in particular, thought herself entitled to an indemnification, for the immense sums she had expended. The Queen of England and the States of Holland, therefore, rejected the offers of France, declaring, that they would not enter into any negotiation for peace, but in concert with their allies.

The parliament having met at Westminster on the 3d day of December, the house of commons voted, the same day, "the thanks of the house to be given to the Duke of Marlborough, for his eminent services to her majesty, and this kingdom, in the great and glorious victories and successes obtained over the common enemy, in the last campaign," which was accordingly presented by a committee the next day. And his grace going down to the house of lords soon after, the lord-keeper, by direction, gave him the thanks of that house likewise, in a very handsome speech. The commons then proceeded with such unanimity to grant the supplies, that an ample provision was made, in the space of eighteen days, for the service of the succeeding year. They voted near 6,000,000 for the service of the succeeding year 1707. When the speaker presented the money-bills, he told her majesty, that, as the glorious victory at Ramillies was obtained by the Duke of Marlborough before the armies were supposed to have taken the field, so the commons had granted the supplies for the ensuing year before the enemy could be apprized that the parliament was sitting. The two houses then proceeded to testify the sense they had of the duke's services, by more solid proofs than a vote of thanks; a bill was passed to perpetuate his titles to his posterity in the female line, in failure of male heirs; and, the queen having before granted his grace 5000 pounds a-year during her life, the parliament continued it to his family for ever.

Provision

Provision being thus made for the continuance of the war, the parliamentary ratification of the treaty of union with Scotland, which treaty had been executed by the commissioners appointed by both kingdoms on the 22d day of July 1706, was next brought under discussion. The articles which composed this famous compact were twenty-five in number: they stipulated, That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should from thenceforth be united, under the title of Great-Britain; that the succession to the united kingdom of Great Britain should be vested in the princess Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already passed in the parliament of England: that the united kingdom should be represented by one and the same parliament: that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy an equal communication of privileges and advantages in trade and commerce; and that ships built in Scotland should be admitted under the act of navigation. The land-tax was adjusted in the following proportion, viz. that, when England paid 1,997,763*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. Scotland should pay 48,000*l.* and so in proportion; and, as an equivalent for Scotland's being charged with the debts of England, there was granted to the former by the latter the sum of 398,085*l.* 10*s.* to be applied to the discharge of the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland, the capital stock of the African and India Company, with interest at five per cent. and for the improvement of the manufactures and trade of that part of the island. It was also provided, that the monies and weights of Scotland, should be the same with those of England; the Scotch courts of justice were preserved, together with all hereditary offices, and the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs; the representatives of Scotland were fixed at sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, which, though small in proportion to the English peers and commoners, yet was high in comparison of the

share borne by Scotland in the taxes ; the rights and privileges of the rest of the peers were fully secured ; so that, except sitting in the house, they were to enjoy all the privileges of the peerage ; and all the laws of either kingdom, inconsistent with the union, were declared null and void.

The Scotch parliament had already ratified the union, notwithstanding it occasioned a very alarming ferment among the people. On the 28th day of January 1707, the queen, in person, informed her parliament thereof. When the commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole house, to deliberate on the articles of the union, and the Scottish act of ratification, the Tory party, which was very weak in that assembly, began to start objections. Sir John Packington disapproved of this incorporating union, which he compared to a marriage without the woman's consent. He said, it was an union brought about by corruption and bribery within doors, by compulsion and force without : he said, the promoters of it in Scotland had basely betrayed their trust, in giving up their ancient free constitution ; and he hoped it would forcibly strike every member in that house, that such men were unfit to be incorporated into the body of representatives. He made one curious remark, among others, which was this : that the queen, by her coronation oath, obliged herself to maintain the church of England, as by law established ; and was likewise bound, by the same oath, to defend the presbyterian kirk of Scotland, in one and the same kingdom. Now, (continued he,) after this union is in force, who shall administer such oath to our future sovereigns ? It is not the business of the Scotch, who, by this treaty, are incapacitated from doing it, and no well-wishers to the church of England : it must therefore devolve upon the bishops to do it ; and can it be supposed, that these reverend persons are capable of acting a part so unbecoming their station and functions, as thus to help forward the establishment

establishment of the presbyterian church government in the united kingdom? He added, that the church of England being established *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that the kirk was also *jure divino*, he could not see how it was possible for two nations to unite, whose sentiments clashed in so essential a point. A motion was made, that the first article of the treaty, which implies a peremptory agreement to an incorporated union, should be postponed, and that the house should proceed to the consideration of the terms of the intended union, contained in the other articles: but, this being rejected, some Tory members quitted the house, and all the articles were read and approved without farther opposition.

Notwithstanding all this harmony, however, the treaty was received with the utmost disapprobation in Scotland. The terms had been carefully concealed, so that nothing transpired till the whole was at once laid before parliament. The ferment was then so general, that all ranks of people, however divided in other respects, united against this treaty. The nobility and gentry were exasperated at the annihilation of parliament, and the consequent loss of their influence and credit. The body of the people cried out, that the independence of the nation was sacrificed to treachery and corruption. They insisted that the obligations laid on their members to stay so long at London, in their attendance on the British parliament, would drain the country of its money, impoverish the members themselves, and subject them to the temptation of being corrupted. Nor was the commercial part of the people better satisfied. The dissolution of the India company, the taxes laid on the necessities of life, the vast number of duties, customs, and restrictions, laid upon trade, were all of them matter of complaint. Before this time the trade of Scotland had been open to the Levant, the Baltic, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and the Dutch plantations; and it seemed

difficult to conceive how the commerce of the country could be advanced by laying restrictions upon it to these places, especially as the compensation allowed, viz. the privilege of trading to the English plantations in America must have been a trifling advantage, when the amount of the whole exports to these places did not near equal the expence of defending them. The most violent disputes took place in the parliament. Lord Belhaven made a most pathetic speech, enumerating the miseries that would attend this treaty; which drew tears from the audience, and to this day is reckoned prophetic by many of the Scottish nation. Almost every article of the treaty was the subject of a protest, and addresses against it were presented to parliament by the convention of royal boroughs, the commissioners of the general assembly, the company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from shires, stewartries, boroughs, towns, and parishes, without distinction of whig, tory, presbyterian, or episcopalian. Nor was the resentment of the common people without doors less than that of the members within. A coalition was formed between the presbyterians and cavaliers; and to such a height did the resentment of the people arrive, that they chose officers, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses and ammunition, burnt the articles of union, justified their conduct by a public declaration, and resolved to take the route to Edinburgh and dissolve the parliament.--- In the mean time the privy council issued a proclamation against riots, commanding all persons to retire from the streets whenever the drum should beat; ordering the guards to fire on those who should disobey this command, and indemnifying them from all prosecution for maiming or slaying in those cases. Even these precautions were insufficient: the Duke of Queensberry, the chief promoter of the union, though guarded by double lines of horse and foot, was obliged to pass through the streets at full gallop, amidst

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the curses and imprecations of the people, who pelted his guards, and even wounded some of his friends who attended him in the coach. In opposition to all this fury, the Duke of Queensberry and others attached to the union magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from it; they took off the resentment of the clergy, by promoting an act to be inserted in the treaty, by which the presbyterian discipline was to be the only government of the church of Scotland, unalterable in all succeeding times, and a fundamental article of the union. Emissaries were set at work to disunite the Cameronians from the Cavaliers, by demonstrating the absurdity, sinfulness, and danger, of such proceedings. The India Company was flattered with the prospect of being indemnified for the losses they had sustained, and individuals by sharing an equivalent. Their last manœuvre was to bring over a party in the Scots parliament, nicknamed the *squadron volante*; (flying squadron,) from their fluctuating between ministry and opposition, without attaching themselves to any party, till the critical moment, which was either to cement both kingdoms by a firm union, or involve them in the calamities of civil war. By this unexpected stroke, the ministry obtained a decisive victory, and all opposition was vain: the articles of the treaty were ratified by parliament, with some trifling variations, on the 25th of March, 1707; when the Duke of Queensberry finally dissolved that ancient assembly, and Scotland ceased to be a separate kingdom. The union was unalterably completed on the first of May following, and the island took the name of "The United Kingdom of Great-Britain." The queen expressed the highest satisfaction when it received the royal assent, and said, "she did not doubt but it would be remembered and spoken of hereafter to the honour of those who had been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. She desired that her subjects of both kingdoms should
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from henceforward behave with all possible respect and kindness towards one another ; that so it might appear to all the world they had hearts disposed to become one people." The first of May was appointed a day of public thanksgiving ; and congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England, excepting the university of Oxford : the Scots, however, were totally silent on the occasion.

Before the opening of the campaign of 1707, a very extraordinary attempt was made by a partizan in the imperial army, and which very narrowly missed of success. This man's name was Quientem : he had served the Prince de Conti as valet de chambre when he went into Hungary ; he afterwards became one of the Elector of Bavaria's band of music, and then became huntsman to the said prince. This man, going over to the imperialists, served as a partizan, and was honoured with a brevet as colonel for some good services he had performed. This spurred him on to do greater things : and, the mighty alterations produced by the battle of Ramillies making it no difficult matter to get from Flanders into France, he formed a project for carrying off some prince of the blood as he should be travelling on the road between Versailles and Paris ; and it is generally believed that his view was particularly upon the dauphin. In order to effect his purpose, he made choice of sixteen officers and fourteen dragoons, all enterprising men and of great resolution : he procured three passports for ten men each ; and, having given them to persons he could trust, he divided his company into three bodies, each of which entered France by a different route, joining in the neighbourhood of Paris. He directed that ten men should post themselves in the wood of Chantilly, ten at St. Ouen, and the other ten at Seve, on the road from Paris to Versailles ; these last, to prevent discovery, were lodged in different public houses : one of them, who was a lieutenant, went frequently

to Paris; he walked from time to time in the street of Seve, and on the bridge that crosses the Seine there; he one day met the Duke of Orleans, but it happened to be too light for him to undertake any thing. Two days after, the dauphin and the princesses passed him going to hunt in the wood Boulogne; but they were too well accompanied for the partizan to hope any thing from an attack. At last, on the 24th of March, he who was centinel perceiving M. de Berringen, first equerry to the king, in a coach and six, with the king's liveries, with a few attendants, it being but half past seven in the evening, took him for some prince, and immediately made a signal for the nine others who passed the bridge. Those who guarded the bridge, seeing him cross it three or four times in a hurry, threw down the barrier, stopped him, and gave notice to the grand provost. Meantime his nine companions, among whom was Quientem himself, stopped the coach, put out the flambeaux; and then, taking M. le Premier (so in France they stiled the king's first equerry) by the sleeve, told him that he arrested him by the king's order. M. le Premier answered that he just came from his majesty, that he would be glad to know who he was, and whether he had not some officer with him, to whom he might speak. Quientem, without making him any answer, made him get out of the coach and mount a spare horse which one of the servants rode. M. le Premier's valet would have followed him, had not one of the soldiers threatened to shoot him, upon which his master bade him go back. He who was stopped at Seve was their guide, and his loss proved a great misfortune to them, because it retarded their journey: they turned by the walls of the wood of Boulogne, from whence they went to St. Ouen, where they had left a post-chaise, with the ten men we have mentioned; but, as they did not know the roads perfectly, they lost a good deal of time in getting to that place. M. le Premier's valet de chambre

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foon carried the news of his master's misfortune to Versailles, so that the king heard of it by nine o'clock; he thereupon sent an order to dispatch couriers forthwith to the intendants, with directions to stop all the passages. His majesty sent also an exempt with twenty life-guards to follow the partizan. All the other equeries mounted, and rode, some towards Normandy, some towards Flanders, and others towards Germany. They learned that, M. le Premier finding himself much out of order, the partisan made a halt for three hours to give him time to rest, and had even cut and lowered the back of the chaise, which hindered its going, that his prisoner might be the less incommoded. The guards and equeries rode so fast, and spread intelligence so quick, that the partisan, as he got out of the forest of Chantilly, heard the Tocfin. i. e. alarm bell, ring in all the villages, upon which he began to doubt the success of his expedition; however he went on boldly and undiscovered as far as Ham, where he was discovered by a quarter-master who rode up to him and clapped his pistol to his throat. Quientem, finding himself surrounded on all sides, was constrained to surrender. M. le Premier immediately cried out that he had been extremely well used, and desired that the man might not be hurt. He kept him that night to supper with him, carried him on his parole back to Versailles, and lodged him there in his own apartments. Madame de Berringen, who happened to be gone before her husband in another coach, made Quientem a considerable present for the civilities which he had shewn M. le Premier. It is certain that nothing but his condescension in stopping those three hours hindered him from getting clear off, since, at the place where he was stopped, he was within three hours march of a place of safety; and on this account it was that he and his companions were discharged.

The proposals of peace offered by France having been rejected by the allies, Louis XIV. found himself obliged

obliged to make all possible preparations for continuing, with some vigour, the war. The uncommon misfortunes of the last campaign had embarrassed his councils, and thrown his kingdom into the utmost distress and consternation. To avert the destruction that seemed impending over him, he extended a line of militia along the coast of the ocean, and the shore of the Mediterranean. He found means to collect together an army in Flanders, the command of which was entrusted to the Duke of Vendome; another under Marshal Villars was formed near Strasbourg: a body of men rendezvoused in Navarre, and another in Roussillon; and reinforcements were sent to the army commanded by the Duke of Berwick in Spain.

The French were successful this year in Germany, and the affairs of the confederates wore a gloomy aspect. The usual sluggishness and backwardness of the princes almost subjected the empire to the same misfortunes from which it had been relieved by the battle of Blenheim. The continuance of the insurrection in Hungary, combined with the habitual inactivity of the court of Vienna, had rendered the efforts of the house of Austria extremely languid on the Upper Rhine. The Margrave of Bareith, who succeeded to the command of the Imperialists on the death of the Prince of Baden, led an army inconsiderable in point of numbers, and ill provided with necessaries for the field. The French army, under Marshal Villars, having passed the Rhine at Strasbourg, forced the lines of Stolhoffen, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, entered Swabia, and penetrated to the Danube. The famous lines of Stolhoffen were so strong, that the Germans, thought them absolutely impregnable, and Prince Louis of Baden had such confidence in their safety, that he had laid out near half a million sterling on his fine palace and gardens at Rastadt; yet Villars had the glory of forcing these lines without the loss of a man; the French found there about sixty

pieces of brass and iron cannon, a great quantity of ammunition, 40,000 sacks of corn, the like quantity of oats, an intire bridge of boats, and some pontons. Villars advanced as fast as possible to Raftadt; but, before he began his march, he went in person through the ranks, intreating the soldiers not to plunder the country, assuring them he would take all the care he could that they should be properly subsisted, adding, that he would not threaten them with severities, because he hoped he had interest enough with them to engage the observation of exact discipline without. When he arrived at the magnificent castle of Raftadt, he found it perfectly furnished, the Princess of Baden with her children having quitted it but the morning before to go to Etlingen; he was obliged however to remain three days in this neighbourhood, that the army might be provided with bread. On the 28th a bridge of boats arriving in the army, he decamped from Raftadt, leaving a guard to prevent the castle or gardens from receiving any damage. He encamped that evening at Rutberg near Etlingen, from whence he went to make a visit to the Princess of Baden, who returned him abundance of thanks for the care he had taken of her house and gardens. M. de Villars contented himself with saying, that he owed much more to the memory of Prince Lewis of Baden, with whom he had been particularly acquainted at the Imperial court, and for whom, notwithstanding some quick repartees which had passed between them, he had always a very high esteem.

But, while Villars was meditating measures which might change the whole face of the war, he was forced to weaken his army by great detachments into France itself, which we shall soon see attacked within its limits by the allies. Towards the end of the campaign, the Elector of Hanover took the command of the army of the empire; and, Count Mercy having surprised the Marquis de Vivant at Offenbourg, Villars was forced

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to abandon all his great schemes, and to repass the Rhine.

The invasion of the French was not the only evil which the emperor and empire had now to fear. Charles XII. king of Sweden, having remained during the winter in Saxony, found very plausible pretences for a quarrel with the court of Vienna. He complained of an insult committed by Count Zobor, chamberlain to his imperial majesty, on Baron Stralenheim, the Swedish envoy. Though all reasonable satisfaction was given by the emperor, the King of Sweden, with an obstinacy suitable to his character, increased his complaints, and multiplied his demands. He peremptorily required, that 500 Russians, to whom the court of Vienna had given refuge in the Austrian dominions, should be delivered into his hands. He insisted, that the protestants of Silesia should be indulged with the free exercise of their religion, according to the treaty of Westphalia; that his imperial majesty should relinquish all pretensions to the quota which the King of Sweden had neglected to furnish according to the tenure by which he held his dominions in Germany; and that the whole Swedish army, in their return through Silesia and Poland, should be maintained at the charge of the court of Vienna.

The Emperor Joseph was in no condition to refuse a compliance with these arbitrary mandates; but the Queen of England and the States were alarmed, lest German pride should sacrifice the interests of the allies to a new quarrel. The court of London therefore resolved upon sending the Duke of Marlborough to soothe the King of Sweden, to gain over his ministers, and penetrate into their real designs. In the month of April his grace set out from the Hague for Leipzig, with a letter from Queen Anne to Charles XII. of Sweden. The duke arrived at Alt-Ranstadt, where the King of Sweden held his head-quarters. He found this original character not simple, but sordid,

in his appearance and œconomy, savage in his deportment, ferocious, illiterate, stubborn, implacable, and reserved. The English negociator assailed him on the side of his vanity, the only part by which he was accessible : "Sire, (said he,) I present to your majesty a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented her from taking so long a journey, she would have crossed the sea to have had an interview with a prince admired by the whole universe. I esteem myself happy in having the honour of assuring your majesty of my regard ; and I should think it a great happiness, if my affairs would allow me to learn, under so great a general as your majesty, what I want to know in the art of war." Charles was pleased with this overstrained compliment, which seemed to have been calculated for a raw unintelligent barbarian, unacquainted with the characters of mankind. He professed particular veneration for Queen Anne, as well as for the person of her ambassador, and declared he would take no steps to the prejudice of the grand alliance.

In Flanders nothing of importance happened during the campaign. The French, under the Duke de Vendome, prudently avoided an action ; and they guarded their motions so well, that they furnished the Duke of Marlborough with no opportunity of attacking them with advantage.

In Spain, things went greatly in favour of Philip V. and against the allies. King Charles III. after his unfortunate retreat from Madrid, left nothing unesfayed to keep up the spirits of his subjects ; he promised them mighty succours, as well from his brother as from Great Britain and the States. He sent courier after courier with letters to the Earl of Galway and the Count das Minas, to intreat them to make all the necessary dispositions for entering Castile as early as possible, that they might once more contribute to bring him

him in safety to Madrid. He likewise gave full power to the Earl of Peterborough to borrow 100,000 pistoles, or any greater or smaller sum, on such interest and conditions as his lordship should think fit, and to make the necessary assignments upon any or all of his majesty's rents and revenues for their security. Till these schemes were brought to bear, the king did his utmost to put the troops he had into the best condition possible, for the defence of the provinces already in his hands, and that they might be in a condition to act offensively as soon as the season should permit.

The efforts made by King Philip to keep possession of that crown which he had assumed were wonderful; he found it impossible, with all the assistances his grandfather gave him, to support both his court and army; he therefore diminished at once half of his civil list and half that of his queen's, which was so far from displeasing the Spanish grandees, that they instantly did the same thing, and applied their savings towards the expences of the war.

The kingdoms of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia, had acknowledged Charles; and the Earl of Galway and Marquis das Minas now resolved, in compliance with the earnest request of that prince, to penetrate, with the combined army, composed of English, Dutch, and Portuguese, troops, into New Castile. In consequence of these resolutions, they drew together all their forces on the last day of March at Xatria, whither the artillery had been conveyed.

The Marshal Duke de Berwick, natural son of James II. who commanded the army of Philip, was not so early in the field; in the beginning of April he caused his troops to assemble at Pretota, while the Duke de Popoli drew together the Spanish army at Yecla. After their junction, the Earl of Galway and the Marquis das Minas encamped at the last-mentioned place. The Duke de Berwick, when he first came to the army, had encamped at Villena, and when he left
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it put a garrison of 100 men into the castle, under the command of a French officer, on whose courage and conduct he depended very much. The Earl of Galway, conceiving that Villena would be of great advantage to him, immediately caused it to be invested, of which when the Duke of Berwick had notice, he instantly advanced to Almanza, within six leagues of Villena. Upon this motion of the enemy, the Earl of Galway called a grand council of war, in which he represented to the general officers, that it was apparently the Duke of Berwick's design to succour Villena, or to cut off their communication with Valencia, from whence they drew their subsistence. He therefore gave it as his opinion, that, since they were already distressed for provisions, they should march immediately and fight the duke, in order to open themselves a passage to fresh quarters. The members of which the council of war was composed came readily into his sentiments, and accordingly every thing was disposed for an engagement.

On the 25th of April in the morning the army of the allies, consisting of 16,000 men, marched in four columns towards Almanza, to attack that of the two crowns, commanded by the Duke of Berwick. They found him perfectly well prepared for them, and his army (which consisted of 24,000 men, 8000 of whom were horse and dragoons) drawn up in excellent order, the Spaniards on the right and the French on the left. When the Earl of Galway was come within a small distance of the army of the two crowns, after a pretty long march, he made a halt in order to dispose his troops in battalia, and to support his deficiency in horse, by mingling with them some corps of foot. Lord Tyrawley had the command of the left wing, which he endeavoured to dispose in such a manner as to make its front equal to that of the Spanish cavalry. As for the Duke of Berwick, he remained without motion in his post, and without making the least change in his dispositions.

sitions. But at last, perceiving the left wing of the allies beginning to move, he caused a battery which he had raised of nine pieces of cannon to play upon them with great fury, while in the mean time the Earl of Galway dispatched Colonel Dormer, at the head of a detachment of dragoons, to make himself master of those cannon, in which he was prevented; for after three discharges the engineers had directions to withdraw them, so that Colonel Dormer's march served only to weaken the wing from which he was detached. The left wing however charged the army of the two crowns briskly, but the Duke de Popoli at the head of the Spanish cavalry, soon broke them and forced them to retire; but two English regiments of foot, whom the Earl of Galway had posted by way of precaution behind the Portuguese horse, made so warm a discharge on the Duke de Popoli's troops, that they forced them in their turn to retire in some disorder. The Earl of Galway upon this ordered five English battalions to defile by the left, in order to attack the infantry of the two crowns in flank, which was now left naked. But the Duke of Berwick, causing the brigade of Maine to advance at the same time with those battalions, not only preserved his own infantry, but flanked those five battalions. By this time the troops in the centre were engaged, so that the five battalions were not properly supported; whence it came to pass that they were entirely routed; and, the horse which had rallied behind them flying at the same time, a dreadful carnage ensued. The right wing of the allies had better success; a brigade of Dutch troops broke a Spanish brigade, and soon after the brigades of Orleans and of the crown retired a little precipitately. The Chevalier d'Asfeld, observing that this made a great impression on the infantry, sent his aid de camp along the line to tell them, that it was done by the Marshal de Berwick's order, and that they would see the reason of it presently. It seems the marshal, on the first motion of the Dutch

brigade, had detached four squadrons of dragoons, who, as soon as they saw the French troops rally and return to the charge, took the Dutch in flank, and fell to cutting them in pieces. The English regiments of Hill and Lord Mark Ker advancing to succour the Dutch, the brigade of Maine advanced at the same time from the second line of the army of the two crowns, and filled up the void, which the retiring of the French infantry had left in the first. The Duke of Berwick causing the French horse to fall upon the cavalry of the allies on the right, the latter, which was mostly Portuguese, broke at the second charge, and left the battalions posted to support them naked; but this accident was more fatal to themselves than to those battalions, for two battalions of Portuguese foot, being posted at some distance, and observing a body of horse advancing towards them with great celerity, made no doubt but that it was the cavalry of the two crowns, and fired upon them so briskly that a great number of them were killed and wounded. The English and Dutch battalions remained yet firm, and could not be broken, though they were much outnumbered by the French; which the Duke of Berwick observing, and afraid that he should want light, caused two brigades to attack them in flank, which they perceiving, retired in very good order towards the mountains, followed by the horse of the right wing of the two crowns, who cut to pieces several Portuguese battalions in the retreat. A Portuguese regiment of foot forming itself into a square battalion in sight of the Duke of Berwick, he thereupon caused it to be attacked in the right by the Spanish horse, on the left by the French foot, who also fell upon its rear; but the Portuguese suffered themselves to be cut to pieces in their ranks, rather than break, in hopes of escaping by flight. The left wing of the allies, consisting mostly of English troops, repulsed fifteen or sixteen squadrons of cavalry from the right wing of the

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the army of the two crowns; and, being sustained by the regiments of Southwell, Blood, Wade, Montjoy, and Stewart, made a very brave stand. The Duke of Berwick caused nine battalions and as many squadrons of fresh troops to fall upon this wing, which at last broke it. The Spanish guards and the brigade of Maine pursued the centre of the allies towards the mountains; however, General Shrimpton, Brigadier Macartney, Colonel Hill, and some other English officers, drew together a mixed body of troops, English, Dutch, and Portuguese, and carried them off from the field of battle in the best order possible. The troops of the left wing of the allies, finding the passages in the mountains secured, were obliged to surrender, which they did to the Chevalier d'Asfeld, to the number of thirteen battalions, commanded in chief by Count Dhona: of these five were English, five Dutch, and three Portuguese, which, with six taken before, made in all nineteen. The duke took also all their artillery, consisting of twenty-four pieces of cannon, together with 120 colours and standards. The allies lost 5000 men killed upon the spot, among whom were Brigadier Kelligrew, the Lieutenant-colonels Roper, Lawrence, Dormer, Deloches, Green, MacNeil, Wollet, Withers, Areskine, Ramsay; and Col. Areskine; six general officers were made prisoners, twenty colonels, and 800 subalterns, with 900 private men, exclusive of the battalions before-mentioned. As to the officers who escaped, they were almost all wounded. The Earl of Galway had two deep cuts in the face; the Marquis das Minas was wounded in the arm, and his mistress, who fought in the habit of an Amazon, was killed by his side; Colonel Pierce and Colonel O'Hara, afterwards Lord Tyrawley, were wounded; as were also the Lord Mark Ker, and Colonel Clayton.---The army of the two crowns did not gain a bloodless victory; they lost at least 3000 men, among them several general officers, and a great

number of other officers. The regiment of the crown lost its colonel, Brigadier Polastron, ten captains, and most of its subaltern officers. The Duke de Sarno, who commanded the King of Spain's guards, received no less than eleven wounds, but he and his corps did wonders; and it is owned on all hands that the Spaniards did their duty on this occasion with amazing fidelity and firmness. The Earl of Galway behaved with all the courage that was possible: the Marquis das Minas did all that could be expected from him, and many of the English officers distinguished themselves on that unfortunate day, particularly Colonel Hill and General Kirk. It is conceived that the unlucky issue of the battle of Almanza was owing to the great fatigue the troops had undergone, and to their want of provisions, which was the true reason why the Earl of Galway proposed fighting. The Marquis das Minas escaped to Xativa, with some cavalry. The Earl of Galway, with a party of horse, taking the route towards Catalonia, arrived at Tortosa, near the mouth of the Ebro. The city of Valencia surrendered to the conqueror, and soon after the whole kingdom, together with that of Arragon, were reduced under the domination of Philip V. The arrival of a strong squadron, under the command of Sir George Byng, afforded great relief to the miserable remains of the confederate army.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel arrived on the 20th day of May, with the rest of the grand fleet. Although the army in Spain was now almost annihilated, yet the Duke of Savoy was at the head of a respectable body of troops in Piedmont; and the emperor had engaged to furnish an army, the command of which was to be given to Prince Eugene, whose antipathy towards the French king, at whose court he had been educated, and from whom he had ineffectually sought promotion, animated him to the fullest exertion of his extraordinary talents, in humbling the house of Bourbon.

Prince

Prince Eugene, therefore, unsatisfied with driving the French out of Italy, inclined to follow them home; and there needed little to induce the Duke of Savoy to return the compliments Louis XIV. had paid him by the Marshal Catinat, the Duke de Vendome, and the Duke de la Feuillade. These motives therefore concurred to the engaging those princes in concerting and carrying into execution a scheme for invading France, and for making themselves masters of the important port of Toulon. This design against Toulon had been projected between the Duke of Savoy and the Earl of Peterborough; but, when the credit of that nobleman declined, the prince caused his minister at the court of London, to renew the scheme with the Duke of Marlborough. The attempt was calculated totally to ruin the French naval power at one stroke: and had the confederates united their strength to crush the enemy, without being drawn aside by separate interests, and impeded by mutual jealousies, there is little reason to doubt that it would have been accomplished. But the different powers that were leagued against France had, by this time, formed private views of advantage, to which they sacrificed the common cause. The Dutch aimed not only at possessing all Flanders, but at establishing a lucrative trade with the kingdom of Spain. In this latter object, they saw with displeasure the English likely to supplant them. They were unwilling to admit that the English, who had given energy to every operation of the war, by supplying money, men, and ships, with an unsparing hand, had a right to reap the benefits arising from the contest: this temper therefore rendered them indifferent to the reduction of Toulon; for they saw that, in proportion as it distressed their enemy, it aggrandized their rival. The emperor too found his particular interests point another way. The possessing himself of the kingdom of Naples was so valuable a prize, that every other consideration gave

way to it. He had no maritime interests himself, and was indifferent to the advancement of them for his friends and benefactors. The Duke of Savoy had no important interests staked upon the issue of the war; his troops were paid by the English nation, and he led them against Louis XIV. whose son had married one of his daughters, and against Philip V. who had married another.

The first ill omen that foreboded the miscarriage of this design against Toulon, was, the emperor resolving to employ 12,000 of his troops in the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. It was in vain that the English ambassador at the court of Vienna represented the important services which had been rendered to that prince and his family by the English nation, the vast importance of the undertaking against Toulon to the common cause, and the certainty of his acquiring Naples after the expedition was over; he was inflexible; but the design was not on that account laid aside. On the 5th day of June the fleet came to an anchor before Finale; it consisted of forty-three ships of the line, and fifty seven transports. Prince Eugene went thither to confer with the admiral, and soon after the fleet sailed for Nice, where a council of war was held, in which it was resolved, to force a passage over the Var, although the French considered their works upon that river as impregnable. Sir John Norris was appointed to conduct this daring enterprize. He sailed with four British and one Dutch man of war, to the mouth of the river, and, embarking 600 seamen and marines in open boats, entered it, and advanced within musquet-shot of the enemies works, and kept up such an incessant fire, that the French could not withstand it. Their cavalry first gave way, and their foot soon after began to quit their entrenchments. Sir Cloudesley Shovel arriving at the place of action, and seeing the disorder into which the enemy was thrown, ordered Norris to land with the seamen and marines, in order

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to flank the enemy. This service was performed with so much conduct, and the men advanced with such valour and resolution, that the French fled in confusion from their works, which were immediately occupied by the English, and a free passage opened for the Duke of Savoy and his army, who crossed the river half an hour after, without any opposition, where he expected to have found a most obstinate one. Upon this gallant exploit the army marched to Toulon without molestation: it consisted of 30,000 men; the artillery and ammunition were conveyed on-board the fleet, which hereupon sailed for the isles of Hyeres. The army appeared before Toulon on the 15th of July, having spent eleven days in marching over about ninety miles. This inroad into the kingdom of France, from a quarter where it was thought invulnerable, threw the French into the utmost consternation. Toulon was in a very weak state of defence, nor was any considerable body of troops in that part of the country; no less than forty-four large men of war were then in port, having on-board upwards of 3000 guns; besides these were twenty-five frigates, fire-ships, and other vessels, all which were in imminent danger of being destroyed. The allies took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, and, the ordnance being landed, they erected batteries, from whence they began to cannonade and bombard the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole, and co-operated in the siege with their great guns and bomb-ketches. The garrison defended the place with vigour. They had used incredible activity in strengthening the fortifications; they sunk ships in the entrance of the harbour, and kept up a brisk fire from their ramparts; they made desperate sallies, and even drove the besiegers from the heights of St. Catharine, with great slaughter. The French were indefatigable in marching troops from all parts of the kingdom into Provence. To increase the embarrass-
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ment of the allies, the generals disagreed ; the Prince of Savoy sent orders to Prince Eugene to possess himself of mount St. Anne, which he refused to attempt, the emperor having given him secret instructions not to expose his troops. The Duke of Savoy, sensible of the growing strength of the enemy, and being informed of the preparations that were making to cut off his retreat, resolved to abandon the enterprize. No sooner was this step determined upon, than the artillery were re-embarked, together with the sick and wounded : the whole army struck their tents, and decamped in the night ; and, with more expedition than it had advanced, retreated to Piedmont.

The very day the army began to march, the fleet drew as near the place as possible, and five bomb-veffels, supported by the light frigates, and all the boats of the men of war, under the command of Rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St. Lewis, and, notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour, from noon till five the next morning, and this with all the success that could be expected. By this means the army had time to quit their camp, which they did in five columns, without annoyance, the enemy being too much engaged to pursue them ; and, as to any attempts afterwards, his royal highness prevented them by marching, in two days, as far as in his approach to the place he had marched in six. This end had the famous siege of Toulon, from whence the confederates hoped and the French feared so much. If the Duke of Savoy had arrived a week sooner, he had carried his point ; and if Marshal Tessé, who was sent into Provence, had acted with skill and dispatch, his royal highness had returned without an army. Notwithstanding the miscarriage of this enterprize, it proved of great service to the allies, and produced such happy consequences, as ought perhaps to balance the expence of it ; for besides the great damage the French sustained

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in their shipping, the burning and destroying of eight of their capital ships, the blowing up several magazines, the burning of above 160 houses in Toulon, and the devastations committed in Provence by both armies, to the value of 30,000,000 of French livres; this enterprize (which struck a greater terror throughout all France, than had been known there during the whole reign of Louis XIV.) brought this further advantage to the common cause, that it gave a diversion to the enemies forces, whereby their army in Germany was weakened; the Duke of Orleans' progress after the battle of Almanza retarded in Spain; the succouring of Naples prevented; and the conquests of the allies in Italy secured. The Duke of Savoy was no sooner returned, than he invested the important fortress of Suza, which surrendered at discretion on the 24th of September, and thereby gave him an open passage into Dauphiny, at the same time that it enabled him to shut the French effectually out of his own dominions.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, having left a squadron of thirteen sail for the Mediterranean service, set sail for England with the rest of the fleet. Having touched at Gibraltar, he proceeded for England, and arrived at the mouth of the Channel. He found himself in soundings on the 23d of October, having a very brisk gale at south-south-west, but hazy weather. About eight o'clock at night, his own ship, the Association, struck upon the rocks of Scilly, called the Bishop and his Clerks. Sir George Byng was then less than half a mile to windward of him; he saw the signals of danger that were made from the admiral's ship, which in two minutes time disappeared, and every person on-board perished. The same fate befel the Eagle, Captain Robert Hancock, of 70 guns, and the Romney, Captain William Cony, of 50 guns. The Firebrand fire-ship was likewise lost; but Captain Piercy, who commanded her, and twenty-four men, saved themselves

selves in the boat. The Phoenix fire-ship, commanded by Captain Sansom, was driven a-shore, but was fortunately got off again. The Royal Anne, in which Sir George Byng bore his flag, was saved by the presence of mind of the officers and men, who set her top-sails when she was within a ship's length of the rocks, Sir John Norris and Lord Dursley, with very great difficulty disentangled themselves from the threatening fate; besides whom several others ran no small hazard among these dangerous little islands. Thus perished the great English admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with all his officers, and about 900 sailors. The admiral's body, being cast a-shore, was stripped and buried in the sand; but afterwards discovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Westminster-abbey.

This year was fatal to England in the loss of her naval commanders. Rear-admiral Dilkes, who had been left in the Mediterranean, proceeded to Leghorn, where he arrived on the 19th day of November. Here he was informed of the bad posture of Charles's affairs in Spain; the Duke of Orleans, who was at the head of Philip's army, had made himself master of Lerida; whilst Tortosa and Tarragona were in great danger of falling into his hands; and, unless timely succour was brought, the whole province of Catalonia was likely to be wrested from the Austrian claimant of the crown of Spain. When Sir Thomas Dilkes came into the road of Leghorn, he demanded a salute of seventeen guns, which being refused him, he wrote to the English envoy at the grand duke's court, who, on stating this complaint, was answered by the secretary of state, that the castle of Leghorn never gave the first salute to any flag under the degree of a vice-admiral; and, as to the number of guns demanded, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, though admiral of the fleet of Great-Britain, was content with eleven, and returned the same number. Soon after this the rear-admiral died of a fever, after some

days

days illness, says Burchet; but Dr. Campbell says, that his disease was caused by an *Italian dinner*; and he adds, the court of Tuscany was all along manifestly partial to the French, and the salute which Dilkes required was founded on some extraordinary civilities that had been paid to French flags. The seamen always looked upon the admiral as a martyr for the honour of his country.

Upon the death of Rear-admiral Dilkes, the command devolved on Captain Jasper Hickes, who was the next senior officer, and who sailed from Leghorn to the coast of Genoa, where embarking his troops at Vado, a little town to the westward of Savona, he escorted them safely to Spain, and then proceeded, with his squadron, to Lisbon, where he received orders to refit, and wait the arrival of Sir John Leake, who was sent out from England with the title of admiral, and commander in chief.

At the time our fleets were every where superior to those of the enemy, our trade suffered in almost all parts of the world, by the small squadrons of men of war, as well as privateers, which issued out of the French ports. Sir Thomas Hardy, at this time, commanded in the Channel. In the month of July he had orders to convoy the trade from the port of London to Lisbon. When he was about one hundred leagues from the Lizard, six French men of war appeared in sight, which he gave chase to; they proved to be a squadron commanded by Du Guay Trouin. Night coming on, a council was called, in which fourteen captains gave it as their opinion, that the admiral should give over the chase, and bear away to protect the Lisbon fleet. For this conduct he was afterwards brought to a court-martial, who honourably acquitted him of all blame: and, though the admiral's conduct was afterwards scrutinized very closely by higher tribunals, yet no imputation fell upon him; he there-

fore continued to be employed, and acquitted himself with honour.

Whilst the French were sending out ships to pick up prizes from Brest, another small fleet, under the command of Monsieur Fourbin, was equipped at Dunkirk, and employed in making depredations on the English shipping to the eastward. Towards the latter end of April 1707, a fleet of merchantmen, consisting of fifty-five sail, outward bound, had a convoy appointed them of three men-of-war, viz. the Royal Oak, of 76 guns, Captain Baron Wylde, commander and commodore; the Grafton, of 70, Captain Edward Acton; and the Hampton-Court, of 70, Captain George Clements. This fleet, in proceeding from the Downs, was attacked by the Dunkirk squadron, consisting of ten men-of-war, a frigate, and four privateers. The commodore drew five of the stoutest merchant-ships into the line, and fought bravely for two hours and a half, being about six leagues to the westward of Beachy. Many officers and men were killed on both sides, and the ships very much shattered in their hulls, masts, and rigging. Captain Acton, of the Grafton, was killed in the action; and Captain Clements received a wound, of which he afterwards died. These two ships were at length obliged to strike. Captain Wilde finding those ships in the enemy's possession, and having eleven feet water in his hold, made the best shift he could to save his ship, by running her a-shore to the eastward of Dungeness; whilst the engagement continued with the men-of-war, the lightest of the enemy's frigates, and their privateers, took twenty-two merchantmen, which they carried, together with two men of-war, into Dunkirk. In this engagement, the conduct of a midshipman on-board the Hampton-Court was very remarkable. While the enemy was employed in plundering the ship, he conveyed Captain Clements, who was mortally wounded in the belly, through a port-hole into the long-boat,
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into which himself, and seven sailors, crept by the same means, where they continued to conceal themselves from the notice of the enemy. When an opportunity offered, they fell to their oars, which they plied so manfully, that they reached the harbour of Rye the next day. Three days after the action, Commodore Wylde had so far repaired the damage of his ship, that he brought her safe into the Downs. All the French relations of this disastrous affair do us the justice to own, that our captains behaved extremely well, and that their victory cost them very dear. The French king promoted M. Forbin, for this gallant service, to the rank of chef d'escadre, and gave him likewise the title of count. Mr. Burchet censures the manner in which this fight was maintained on the side of the English, and thinks the misfortune that befel them arose from their being drawn into a close line, and lying by to receive the enemy; had they, on the contrary, he says, kept constantly under sail, and fought in that manner, the elevation of the ships, and their weight of metal, would have enabled them to have done more execution. This affair raised a great commotion in the nation; and the merchants laid the whole blame upon the admiralty-council, who, they said, ought to have informed the commodore of the sailing of the Dunkirk squadron, for the doing of which ample time intervened. The manner in which the trading vessels of England were made prizes of by the French cruisers, might well draw forth complaints from the merchants; and indeed, the interests of that useful and respectable body of men, were shamefully slighted by the council of admiralty, who suffered the two French partisans, Forbin and Guay Trouin, to ride triumphant in the British seas, whilst our formidable naval force was making conquests in the Mediterranean, for a prince so destitute of the talents requisite for governing, that he lost, by his own incapacity, whatever was procured him by the bravery

of his allies: In the month of July fifteen merchantmen, from the port of London to Archangel, being nearly one-third of the fleet, were taken on their voyage thither by Forbin, on the coast of Lapland, in the latitude of 69 deg. 40 min. The French computed the value of the goods taken, at 1,200,000 livres, or 52,500l. sterling. The account published in England was extremely embarrassed and obscure. Admiral Whetstone commanded the convoy, whose conduct, in this business, was much complained of. The private intelligence which had been given the French, was supposed to have enabled them to proceed successfully against our fleets.

On the return of the Dunkirk squadron, Count Forbin received orders to join that which had been fitted out at Brest, under the command of Trouin, which he accordingly did on the 8th of October. Thus united, their force consisted of twelve ships, which were of the French navy, but employed on the account of private adventurers; one of 72 guns, others 60 and 50; and none carried fewer than 40 guns.

In the latter end of August, there was a great fleet ready for Lisbon, having on-board provisions, military stores, and upwards of 1000 horses, for the King of Portugal's service. The merchants were extremely uneasy about a convoy: they observed, that so many ships had been taken in the voyage to Portugal, that it not only affected the commerce, but the reputation, of this kingdom, and obliged the Portuguese to send their orders for corn, even against their will, into Holland; for this reason they earnestly intreated, that such a convoy might be given them, upon this occasion, as might secure so great a fleet, (for there were no fewer than 130 merchantmen,) and thereby recover our credit at Lisbon; and, in consequence of it, our corn trade, which had been in a great measure diverted for the two last years. These representations were by no means pleasing to the admiralty, where Admiral Churchill, the

the duke's brother, commonly expressed the sense of his royal highness's council, and thereby drew on himself the merchants' displeasure in the highest degree. He told them, upon this occasion, that they should be furnished with as speedy and strong a convoy as could possibly be provided for them; yet this convoy was not ready to sail until the 24th of September. It consisted of the Cumberland, Captain Richard Edwards, of 80 guns; the Devonshire, of the same force; the Royal Oak, of 76, lately spoken of; the Chester and Ruby, each of 50 guns. The Chester and Ruby were indeed the convoy, for the other three ships were only to see the fleet fifty leagues beyond Scilly. The fleet did not sail till the 9th of October, and on the 10th, they fell in with the joint fleet of Count Forbin and M. du Guay Trouin, off the Lizard. The convoy disposed themselves in a line of battle, and thereby gave the merchant ships an opportunity of escaping. M. du Guay attacked the Cumberland, about twelve at noon, and with the assistance of two other ships, after an obstinate dispute, carried her; the Devonshire defended herself for a long time against seven, and till evening against five French ships; but then, by some accident, which will remain for ever unknown, took fire, and blew up; two only, out of 900 men, escaped; the Royal Oak made a vigorous resistance, and having set the French ship which attacked her, and was commanded by M. de Bearnois, on fire, got safe into Kinsale harbour; Count Forbin took the Chester; and de Couferat and de Nesmond took the Ruby. As for the Lisbon fleet, they very prudently saved themselves during the engagement; but the French made a prodigious boasting of the men-of-war they had taken, though the dispute was so very unequal. Mr. Burchet censures the manner in which this fight was maintained, upon the same principle on which he blamed the former one; our ships were of such force, that, had they kept together under sail, they would have made

made a very formidable battery; but the French ships, being many more in number, had opportunities of attacking each of them singly, with three or four of their ships at one time.

At the close of the year, Captain Haddock, of the Ludlow-Castle, fell in with two French frigates, the Nightingale and Squirrel, formerly the queen's ships, but now fitted out from Dunkirk as privateers, each of them having on-board as many men as the English man-of-war. They both lay by, till he came within gun-shot of them; but then made sail from him before the wind. At eleven o'clock at night he came up with the Nightingale, which immediately struck, but the other escaped. The captain of the Nightingale was an English renegado, who had formerly commanded a sloop in the queen's service, and having been tried by a court-martial, for irregular practices, was broke; a lieutenant, a midshipman, and a sailor, natives of England, were taken on-board the ship, together with an Irish priest: all these Captain Haddock sent up prisoners to London, where they were tried for high-treason.

Before we close our account of the transactions of this year, it will be proper to speak of the events which took place in the West-Indies. When Graydon returned from his ineffectual expedition thither, (see p. 49.) Sir William Whetstone was appointed to that command. He sailed from St. Helen's in March 1705, with one third-rate, four fourth-rate, and two fifth-rate, men-of-war. He arrived at Jamaica in May, and some time after sailed for the Spanish coast, where he took a French ship of 46 guns, having on board 150 men, which were all that remained alive of 370, with which she sailed. He afterwards fell in with two French privateers, one of which he forced a-shore, whereupon the crew set her on fire; the other escaped. A violent storm soon after forced the admiral to return to Jamaica with his squadron, only leaving the Montague, a 60-gun ship, to cruise

on the coast of Hispaniola, where she met with two French ships, one of 48 the other of 36 guns, which the captain of the Montague gallantly bore down upon and engaged. In the night the Frenchmen disappeared, but the next morning they were again in sight. The captain immediately gave orders to renew the combat; but, his officers and seamen expressing a great dislike for the business, he was obliged to desist. When the captain returned to Jamaica, he complained to his admiral that his orders had been disobeyed by his officers and the crew: a court-martial was thereupon appointed, when, it fully appearing that the captain had done his duty to the utmost of his power, he was honourably acquitted; but his officers were broke, and many of his seamen punished. As soon as the Montague arrived, Whetstone sent out the Bristol and Folkestone in search of these French ships, who fell in with them and their convoy, but they contented themselves with making prize of some of the merchantmen, for, having no stomach for fighting, they suffered the two men-of-war, and a great part of the fleet which they escorted, to escape, although absolutely in their power. For this shameful breach of duty Captain Anderson, the senior officer, was tried, broke, and declared unfit for service.

Whilst Whetstone was detained for want of stores at Jamaica, the Suffolk, a 70-gun ship, on-board of which the admiral had hoisted his flag, blew up in the gun-room; most of the men who were in that part were killed, and seventy more in their hammocks were so much burnt, that the greatest part died. Had the ports been open when this accident happened, the ship would, most probably, have been totally destroyed; but the damage it sustained was repaired, and she afterwards returned to England.

The French had great advantages over the English in these parts, from the assistance which the Spanish harbours and settlements afforded them; from whence
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they drew a ready supply of whatever they stood in need of; they therefore resolved to attempt the reduction of the English Leeward Islands; for which purpose Iberville, the governor of St. Domingo, fitted out a small squadron of French men-of-war, the command of which was given to Count de Chevagnac, who sailed in the month of March 1706, and made a descent on the island of St. Christopher, which his troops plundered with great fury: they were stopped in their career by the castle, which made a vigorous defence, and at length the invaders were obliged to re-embark. Iberville having now joined Chevagnac with several more ships, they proceeded to Nevis, where the inhabitants capitulated. Soon after Commodore Ker arrived from England with a considerable force, and, having stationed several of his ships according to his instructions, he bore away with the rest for Jamaica, which was then thought to be in danger from the junction of Iberville's squadron with some ships commanded by Du Casse.

In the mean time Whetstone sailed with a few ships from Jamaica, in hopes of attacking Du Casse before he was joined by the succours he expected. But, this design being defeated by bad weather, he returned to Jamaica about the middle of July, and towards the end of the month was joined by Commodore Ker, with the squadron under his command. There being now so considerable a force, the admiral was very desirous that something should be attempted capable of blotting out the memory of past mistakes, and worthy of the British nation. After mature deliberation, it was resolved to proceed to Carthagená, where they knew the galleons were, in order to try what effects King Charles's letters would produce, and whether the governor might not be wrought upon by our successes in Europe, to own him for his rightful sovereign in America. With this view Sir William Whetstone and Captain Ker sailed from Jamaica on the 8th of August, and
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on the 18th arrived before Carthagena, and sent in a packet to the governor. But this produced no good effect; he declared, that he knew no other prince than Philip V. and that no other he would obey. There were at that time in the port fourteen galleons, lying close in with the city, and unrigged. The admiral was for attempting to burn them; but the pilots declared, that any such design would be found impracticable, unless we were first in possession of Bocca Chica castle, and the other forts, and even in that case it was very doubtful whether ships of so great a size as theirs could get in. Then it was taken into consideration what farther service might be done, and the result of this was, a resolution to return to Jamaica; from whence, as soon as the trade was ready, the rear-admiral was to convoy them home, and Commodore Ker to remain behind, in order to take upon him the command of the force left in the West-Indies. This scheme was immediately put in execution, and upon their return, Sir William made all possible dispatch in order to get home in time; and accordingly, leaving the island the latter end of October, he arrived at Plymouth on the 23d of December 1706, with the Suffolk, Bristol, Reserve, and Vulcan fire-ship, and a fleet of merchantmen under his convoy.

The chief command now devolved on Commodore Ker, whose designs were as well laid, and their issue as fruitless, as those of his predecessors. One of them was an attack upon Port Louis, another on the Petit Guavas, but neither took effect. After this Sir John Jennings was dispatched thither, but his command stands as little dignified by any important event as the others.

In North-America the French were more successfully attacked in the year 1707. Captain John Underdown, commander of her majesty's ship the Falkland, having received advice, on the 25th of July, that the enemy had several ships employed in the Newfound-

land fishery, he proceeded from the harbour of St. John's, having with him the *Nonfuch* and the *Medway*. These three ships sailed to the bay of *Blanche*, and arrived off the harbour of *Fleur-de-lis*, where the commodore sent in his own pinnace, and that belonging to the *Nonfuch*: on-board of the first was Major Lloyd, who went on this expedition as a volunteer; and the lieutenant of the *Falkland* on-board the other. They found several stages and other necessaries for the fishery, which they destroyed, and then returned to the ships. The next day they made prize of a ship from St. Maloes, of 360 tons, 30 guns, and 110 men, called the *Duke of Orleans*. Another ship of 20 guns, and 80 men, belonging to St. Maloes, was likewise taken; two other ships, one of 32 guns, and the other of 26, from the same port, were attacked, but their crews abandoned them, set them on fire, and escaped on-shore. Off the harbour of St. Julian they discovered another ship, hauled quite up to the shore. All the boats being manned, on the 6th of August the enemy was driven from their posts, and the ship was taken possession of. The squadron then proceeded to *Carouse*; in their way thither they looked into *Petite Maistre*, where they destroyed great numbers of boats and stages, with vast quantities of fish and oil. The damage the enemy sustained by this expedition was, two ships brought away, a third taken but burnt, two more burnt by the French; 228 fishing-boats burnt; 470 boats and shallows, 23 stages, 23 train-vats, all burnt; 77280 quintals of fish destroyed, together with 1568 hogsheds of train-oil.

The first parliament of Great-Britain met at Westminster, on the 23d of October, without any new election for England; when the queen in her speech to both houses, palliated the miscarriages in Provence and in Spain, represented the necessity of making farther efforts against the common enemy, and exhorted them

to

to be upon their guard against those who endeavoured to sow jealousies in the nation.

At this period Secretary Harley's character incurred suspicion from the treachery of Gregg, a clerk in his office, who was detected in carrying on a correspondence with M. Chamillard, the French king's minister. This affair made much noise, and great discoveries were expected to follow. Gregg was indicted at the Old Bailey, found guilty, and executed as a traitor. In a paper which he delivered to the sheriff at his execution, he acknowledged his guilt, and declared, that he had no accessaries in his treason, and that Mr. Secretary Harley was entirely ignorant of his practices.

After both houses of parliament had adjusted many important matters respecting the government of the united kingdoms, they proceeded to take into consideration the future conduct of the war. The lords came to a resolution, that no peace could be safe and honourable for her majesty and her allies, if Spain and the Spanish West-Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the house of Bourbon. They presented an address, in which they desired she would press the emperor to send powerful succours into Spain, under the command of Prince Eugene, with all possible expedition, to make good his contract with the Duke of Savoy, and strengthen the army on the Rhine, which was now happily put under the conduct of that wise and valiant prince the Elector of Hanover. The commons concurred in this address; in consequence of which the queen desired the emperor to bestow the command in Spain upon Prince Eugene. The court of Vienna, however, did not comply with this request, but sent thither Count Staremberg, who, of all the German generals, was next to the prince in military reputation. The commons now proceeded to consider of ways and means, and established funds

for raising the supplies, which amounted this year to the enormous sum of near six millions.

The Duke of Marlborough set out from London on the 29th of March, 1708, and embarked the same evening at Margate, and the next day, by two in the afternoon, he was in sight of the coast of Holland; but, there being no pilot to carry in the yacht, his grace came in an open boat with oars to Maeslandtsluys, from whence he proceeded to the Hague, where he arrived very late at night. Prince Eugene had been there two days before, and sent early the next morning to compliment the duke on his arrival. On the 12th of April a grand conference was held in the usual apartment of the States, for the settling the operations for the succeeding campaign. Prince Eugene opened the subject of the conference: he shewed in plain and concise terms the justice of the war on the part of the allies; he expatiated on the injuries which the Imperial house had sustained; he apologized for the measures taken by the late and present emperor from the breaking out of the war; and gave a fair and distinct account of the state of the imperial forces in Naples, Lombardy, Piedmont, and of those designed for Spain. He then mentioned the troops his Imperial majesty designed to employ upon the Rhine; and lastly he gave his own opinion, as to the operations of the next campaign on the Rhine and in the Netherlands. He observed that he had been instructed by his Imperial majesty to use his endeavours to engage the Queen of Great Britain and the states general to approve the scheme he had proposed, in order to their effectual reducing, by their joint endeavours, the formidable power of the Gallic monarchy, and restoring the kingdom of Spain, and all its dependencies, to the august house of Austria, in the person of its lawful monarch King Charles III. The Duke of Marlborough spoke next, and informed them of the queen his mistress's sentiments on the present state of affairs. The deputies
of

of the States were empowered to hear, but not to answer till they had reported the subject of these conferences to their masters. At last it was concluded, that the Imperialists employed on the Upper-Rhine, with the Saxons and Hessians in the pay of Great Britain and Holland, and the troops of the Elector Palatine, should march into the Netherlands, to act there under the command of Prince Eugene, in concert with the British and Dutch forces commanded by the Duke of Marlborough and Velt-marshal d'Auverquerque. All this being thus settled, the prince and the duke both set out for Hanover, in order to engage the elector to acquiesce in this scheme, which it was evident would leave him but a very feeble army on the Upper-Rhine. They arrived together at Hanover on the 26th of April, and lodged at the British envoy's the first night; but afterwards in the electoral palace. The conferences were carried on three days together, his electoral highness being at first averse to their proposal, which he saw clearly would oblige him to act wholly on the defensive; but at last he came into it, and agreed to part with all the regiments which were demanded for the completing Prince Eugene's army.

The Duke of Marlborough, by these negotiations, effected what he had always thought necessary for the effectual humbling of France; he foresaw that if there was now any occasion he should be able to form two armies in Flanders, and, which was still of greater consequence, that it would be no longer in the power of the States deputies to hinder him from fighting, if he saw proper occasion. Full therefore of mighty hopes, he returned from Hanover to the Hague, while Prince Eugene went to Leipzig and Vienna, to execute what yet remained necessary to be done before he could appear with eclat in Flanders.

The French king, notwithstanding the great reason he had to be satisfied with the conduct of the Duke de Vendome, altered his measures and his generals this campaign.

campaign. The Elector of Bavaria was sent to command the army on the Rhine, having under him the Duke of Berwick; Marshal de Villars, who had commanded there before, was sent into Dauphiné. The Duke of Burgundy was declared generalissimo of the army in Flanders, and the Duke de Vendome and Marshal Matignon were sent to command under him. The army they were to command was very formidable, consisting of no less than 139 battalions and 204 squadrons, commanded by the best general officers in the service of France. M. de Chamillard was sent to visit the troops on the frontiers, that all things might be in the best order. On the 24th of May the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry joined the army, and on the 26th it marched to Soignes.

Velt-marshal d'Auverquerque assembled the army of the allies at Anderlech near Brussels, where the Duke of Marlborough and the field deputies of the states general arrived on the 24th of May; and stood then in the following condition: The first line consisted of 59 battalions and 94 squadrons, the second of 53 battalions and 86 squadrons; in the whole 112 battalions and 180 squadrons: the train consisted of 45 English and 68 Dutch; in all 113 pieces, of cannon. The brisk march of the French to Soignes, and the arrival of the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, together with the Chevalier de St. George, in that army, occasioned a suspicion that the French, instead of declining, would seek a battle. On the 29th of May the French received their heavy baggage from Mons, but they sent it back on the 31st; upon which the Duke of Marlborough, concluding that they would certainly hazard a battle, ordered the troops to be in readiness to march at an hour's warning. The same evening his grace received intelligence that their baggage had received a counter order, and was actually brought back to the camp, their horses having foraged for two days, from whence it was concluded that they would certainly remain

remain where they were at least a day longer. On this presumption the horse of the allies was ordered to forage next morning, which they did by break of day; but they had not been out an hour before advice came that the enemy had sent away their heavy baggage at ten the night before, and had begun their march without noise by eleven. Upon this the horse of the allies were recalled, and the foot were immediately ordered to march. The duke readily conceived the enemy's design to be what it really was, they possessing themselves of the banks of the Deule, whereby they would effectually hinder the allies passing that river, and make themselves masters of Louvain; to prevent this there was no remedy but marching all night, which his grace put in practice, so that on the 3d of June the army arrived in the strong camp of Terbank, miserably fatigued, however, with so precipitate a march, and with twenty-four hours rain without intermission, to which they had been exposed. The Duke of Marlborough took up his quarters in the abbey of Terbank, and M. d'Auverquerque his in the suburbs of Louvain.

The true design of the confederates was to besiege Lisle, as it was the intent of the French to prevent that siege, if possible, and to oblige the allies to pass this campaign as they had done the former, without effecting any thing. In order to make a diversion, the Duke of Burgundy, by the advice of the Elector of Bavaria, resolved to attempt the surprisal of some of the great towns in the Netherlands, in most of which his electoral highness had considerable interest, and consequently exact intelligence, and people ready to execute whatever he directed. Ghent and Bruges were the places first fixed on, and, in order to the seizing these cities, the Duke of Burgundy detached from his army two considerable corps, one under the command of the M. de Grimaldi, a lieutenant general, who had under him the Baron de Capres, now Duke of Bourbonville, and the Brigadier de la Faille; the other

manded by the Count Chemerault, a lieutenant-general. In these attempts they completely succeeded: Ghent and Bruges were surpris'd and taken; the Count Chemerault executed all that he was sent for, breaking down every where the bridges on the Dender and the Schelde, terrifying all the little places in the neighbourhood. He had even the boldness to approach Oudenarde, a place well fortified, and of great importance to the allies, after the loss of Ghent, having no passage over the Schelde but that; so that, if the count could have reduced it, he would have effectually cut off the communication which the army of the allies had with Menin and Courtray, and have secured the possession of all the country between the Schelde and the Lis; but in the interim Brigadier Chanclos arriv'd with such a detachment as put the place out of immediate danger.

The Duke of Marlborough, who was still in his camp at Anderlech, as soon as he received advice of the surprisal of Ghent and Bruges, resolv'd to force the enemy to a battle, as the shortest means of restoring things to their former condition. The night the French arriv'd at their camp at Ninove, the army of the allies approach'd them; but, being exceedingly fatigued, his grace attempted nothing till the next day; the French however pass'd the Dender in the night, and retir'd with all imaginable speed: their rear-guard was attack'd by Major-general Schulemberg and Sir Richard Temple, and, after a brisk action, in which they had 150 killed and taken prisoners, a great part of their small baggage fell into the hands of the allies. In the mean time, Prince Eugene having made a quick march from the Moselle, and left his cavalry at Maeftricht, arriv'd in the camp of Asche, with Major-General Cadogan, whom the duke had sent to him, his highness being resolv'd to be present in case of an engagement, though his troops did not come up. The next day a council of war was held, in which the former

mer resolution of fighting was confirmed, without a debate; the generals, and even the private men, shewing a passionate eagerness for engaging before the Imperialists came up.

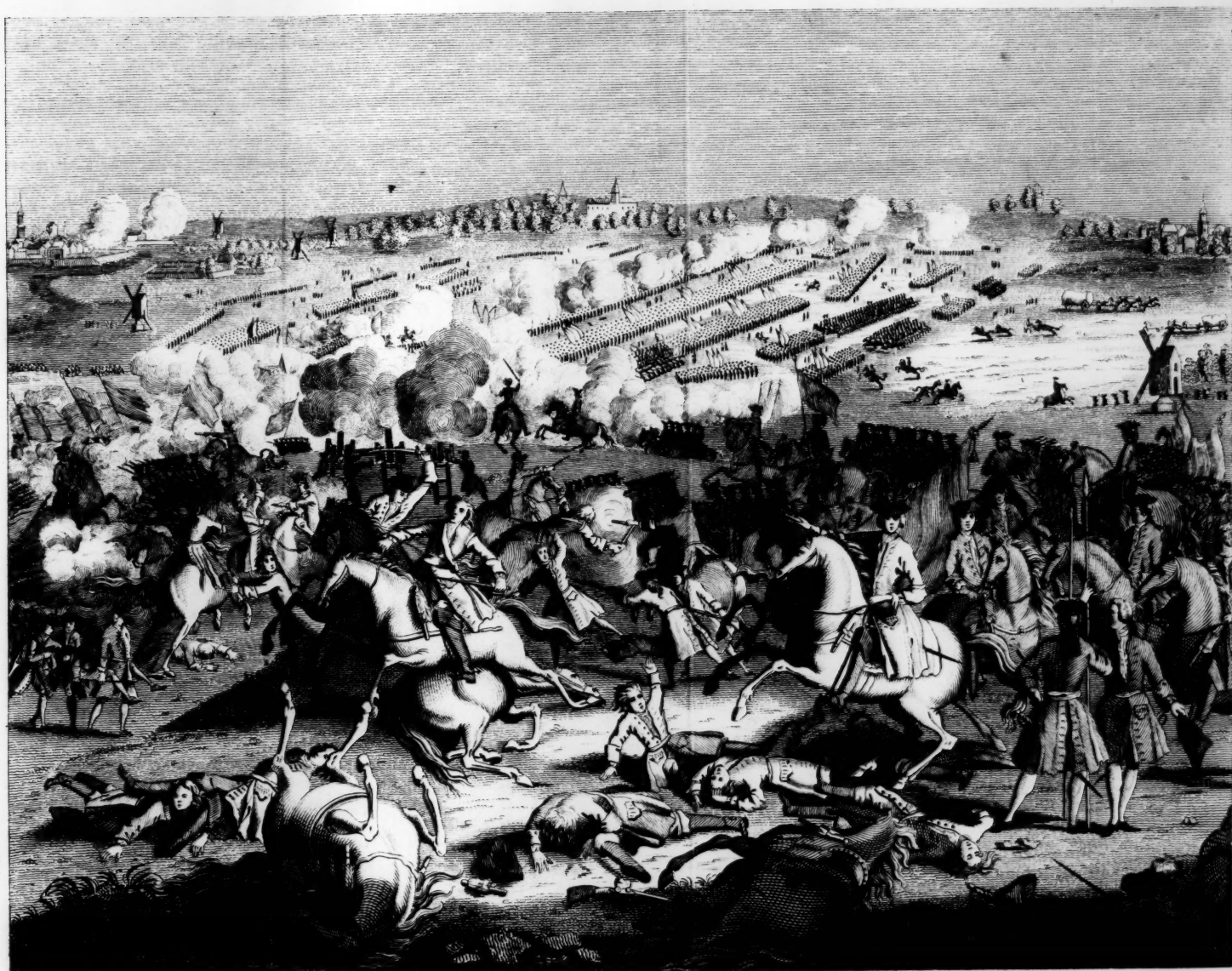
The French army, being apprehensive of the junction of the Imperialists with the allies, thought of retiring into their lines, in order to wait for a reinforcement of 30,000 men, which was marching towards them under the command of the Duke of Berwick, when they imagined they should be once more able to look the Duke of Marlborough in the face. The same day that Brigadier Chanclos relieved Oudenarde, the confederate army marched in four columns by the left, the Earl of Albemarle being left with all the grenadiers and thirty squadrons to form the rear-guard, in case the enemy should make any motion towards Brussels. The ways being in good repair, the troops marched in very exact order, the head of them passing Herfelingen above five leagues from Asche, before eleven in the morning. Here the Duke of Marlborough gave orders for pitching their tents fronting the enemy; the French, who thought such a march impossible, did not beat the generale till three in the afternoon, thinking themselves secure of the strong camp of Lessines, in order to cover the siege of Oudenarde, for which they had their artillery ready at Tournay. Prince Eugene having joined the army at Herfelingen, the duke about four in the afternoon detached the indefatigable Major-general Cadogan, with eight squadrons and as many battalions, to seize the camp of Lessines. Eight hundred men of this detachment entered that town about midnight, and the rest passed through it at four in the morning, and posted themselves on this side of the river Dender. At seven the same evening that Cadogan marched, Marlborough ordered the retreat to be beat, which was the signal for striking the tents; the army immediately beginning its march, and continuing it all night, passed the Dender

about eleven in the morning, over the bridges laid by Cadogan, then took possession of the camp of Lessines, towards which the enemy had been in full march several hours, but on this disappointment altered their march towards Gavre, in order to pass the Schelde there.

To say the truth, it was the divisions in the French army that gave the allies those advantages they had in the subsequent engagement. The Duke of Vendome was for posting the French army behind the Dender, there to wait the coming of the allies: he said that in this situation they should have nothing to fear, because the allies would never think of forcing them when thus posted; and that, if without loss of time they took this measure, they would prevent their troops from being fatigued, preserve them from an attack, and at the same time cover the new conquests, and secure their communication with Lifle, Ypres, and the lines; that, if the allies marched up the Dender, it was in their power to march on the other side and observe them, and to have always a march in their power, so that whenever it was necessary they might pass the Schelde before them, and dispute their passage afterwards. This advice was certainly right, but they did not follow it. The Duke of Burgundy was so intimidated with the bad success they had in former engagements, he was resolved to hazard nothing; he thought it best therefore to retire behind Ghent till they had time to consider what to do next. The general officers, to make their court to the presumptive heir of the crown, applauded his sentiment, and the Duke de Vendome had no one to support his; he did not however depart from it, but, shaking his head, let fall these words: "I find you will be lost, do what I can: whenever you have shewn Prince Eugene that you did not care to fight, he has always forced you to a battle in spite of your teeth; and this will be your fate now." He was so touched with the behaviour of the generals towards him, that he repeated the same words over
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The Battle of Oudenarde.

London Published Sept. 1707.

again; but, finding they made no impression, he suffered himself to be carried away by a torrent which he found it in vain to oppose.

The Duke de Vendome gave, however, indubitable proofs of his capacity as a general; for, by posting seven battalions in the village of Heynem, and twelve squadrons in the plain, he had disposed things so, that, when half the army of the allies had passed their bridges, he would have attacked them with all his troops, and have put it out of the power of the other half to have come to their assistance; but, happily for the confederates, the Duke of Burgundy disapproved of this scheme also: he was still for retiring to Ghent, and with this view ordered the troops to stop at Gavre, where, not knowing what to do, he did the worst thing possible, which was to recal the dragoons out of the plain, and at last determined to retire in a manner little better than a flight: and to this, with great justice, the loss of the battle of Oudenarde was attributed, as we shall see by what followed.

If the French had advanced in time, they might have cut the detachment of the allies, which was employed in throwing bridges over the Schelde, in pieces, or they might have broken those bridges before the army came up; and, if then they had supported their left at Heynem, posted their horse behind the castle of Beveren, and their centre on the height between Werrigern and Hourne, they would have had all the advantages of ground they could have wished. But, while they should have been acting, they were disputing; and it was three o'clock before any resolution was taken at all; and then the Duke of Burgundy was for fighting. Major-general Grimaldi was ordered by him to begin the attack with the troops of the king's household on the right, and to dislodge Major-general Rantzau from the eminence he had gained; but when Grimaldi came to the rivulet, and found the ground on both sides of it marshy, his household troops refused

to pass it, and retired towards their own right, though their army had 12,000 men more than the confederates, and were possessed at this time of other advantages. The Duke de Vendome entirely disapproved of this attack, and therefore sent his aid-de-camp with his orders to the left; but the Duke of Burgundy countermanded this, upon an information, as it was pretended, that there was an impassable morass on that side, over which however the Duke de Vendome and the Count d'Eureux had rode an hour before; this was the last blunder he had to make, and effectually complimented the allies with a victory. Major-general Cadogan, who had by this time passed the river with twelve battalions, about four o'clock attacked the village of Heynem, in which were seven battalions of French foot. General Sabine began the attack, and in a very short space cut part of four battalions to pieces, and took prisoners the rest of those four battalions, with three other battalions who did not fight at all.

The Duke of Burgundy saw now that there was no avoiding a general engagement, and therefore gave orders for his army to form, but it was too late. There were certainly two of the finest armies in the world engaged, this day, July 11; but neither of them was in order of battle; that of the allies were forced to attack as they came up; that of France lost so much time before the resolution of fighting was taken, that they were attacked every where before they formed at all.

Major-general Rantzau, with eight squadrons, passed the rivulet, and advanced into the plain, where the French horse had been drawn up between the villages of Singhem and Mullen, and attacked the French squadrons that were still passing, driving them into the highway which led to the march of their own army; the Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards King George II. charged at the head of a squadron of dra-

goons,

goons, and greatly distinguished himself, gaining the whole glory of the first attack. His horse was killed under him; and Colonel Luschki was mortally wounded close by his side. "On that day (says Cunningham) this excellent young prince discovered such courage as no man living ought to forget, and as all posterity will never surpass." Lieutenant-general Schu-lemberg fought also among these troops as a volunteer, and they behaved so well, and pressed the French so briskly, that they broke several of their regiments, and took several officers, with twelve standards, and as many kettle-drums.

While this was doing, the horse of the allies continued passing the bridges, and formed as fast as they entered the plain. The infantry arrived very late, through the extraordinary length of the march, and because the horse had galloped a great part of the road. The Duke of Marlborough, accompanied by Prince Eugene, was at the head of the cavalry in the plain, and, observing their great want of foot, ordered those battalions which had attacked and carried the village to march from thence, and to throw themselves into the hedges on the other side of the plain. We had not above two battalions on that side, which were those of Brigadier Grumkau, who, though vigorously attacked, maintained themselves in their post with great bravery, till there came up foot enough to sustain them, which was not till a considerable time after. The Duke of Marlborough sent repeated orders to the infantry to hasten their march, the French being ready to attack those that were already on this side of the river, with very unequal numbers. The Duke of Argyle arrived in the interim with twenty battalions, which were scarcely posted before they were attacked by the French with the utmost vigour, the Prussians being driven from their posts, which however they recovered soon after sword in hand, notwithstanding their great inequality in number. This happened about six, when
Count

Count Lottum arrived with the rest of the foot of the right wing, in order to sustain the attack. The duke, perceiving that great efforts would be made on the right, sent for twenty battalions from the left. This wing, the cavalry of which having passed through Oudenarde, and the infantry over bridges thrown a little below that town, arrived a little later than the right wing, and formed themselves in two lines, leaving the village of Merghem behind them. As the infantry arrived, they formed in two lines before the cavalry, and attacked in good order the villages in the enemy's front. In about three hours the engagement was general from the right to the left, the French giving way on all sides till they were sustained by fresh troops, which occasioned almost a fresh action. On the left of the left wing there was a sort of opening, which the Prince of Orange, at the head of the Dutch infantry, closed up. The duke sent orders about this time to M. d'Auverquerque and Count Tilly to attempt something on their side, in order to employ the enemy while he passed to the right. There was a great fire by this time on the side of the wood, and the French began again to give way in all directions. The duke sent again to M. d'Auverquerque and Count Tilly, who were by this time on the mountain, to push the French as far as they were able on that side, upon which they ordered the Danish horse to advance through a narrow defile into a field, where all the household troops of France were drawn up behind the hedges. The Prince of Orange and Count Oxenstiern advanced with the Dutch infantry into the same field, and taking the enemy in flank, who never thought of being attacked on that side, fell quickly into disorder, the horse charging them on one side, and the foot making a terrible discharge on the other, so that at last there was nothing but confusion; and, the night growing very dark, many squadrons threw themselves on the allies in despair, some broke through, some were cut to pieces,

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some hit upon roads where none of the allies were posted, and some surrendered without fighting at all. At last, when it was impossible to distinguish friend from foe, the confederate generals ordered the troops to cease firing, chusing rather to let the enemy escape than to hazard their own troops firing one upon another. When the disorder among the French troops first began, the Duke de Vendome alighted from his horse, and put himself, sword in hand, at the head of his battalions: he called to the officers by name; he begged and intreated the soldiers to shew some kind of concern for their own reputation and for the cause of their country; but it was all in vain, he could not bring them up again; and, if night had not intervened, thousands more must have been cut to pieces.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene continued together for several hours after the battle began, visiting the lines, directing the troops to take post, &c. Towards the last the duke left the care of the right to Prince Eugene, and went himself to the left. The prince took great pleasure in leading up the English troops, fought amongst them in person, and gave them the highest commendations. The Prince of Nassau Frize gained great reputation from his courage and conduct on that day. But, amongst all the heroes who distinguished themselves in this memorable battle, none claimed a juster or larger share of glory, than old Field-marshal d'Auverquerque; he received without reluctance, and executed with alacrity, the orders sent him by the Duke of Marlborough, and, broken as he was with years and with fatigue, he appeared in the hottest fire, and did all day long the duty of an inferior general, though he commanded the troops of the States. The Duke of Argyle, Count Tilly, the Prince of Wirtemberg, the Generals Rantzau, Webb, and Cadogan, did wonders; and Brigadier Sabine, who first attacked the village of Heynem, gave shining proofs of that valour and intrepidity

trepidity which afterwards raised him to the first commands in the army. As to the troops, they all behaved incomparably well ; but the Prussian gendermerie distinguished themselves in a particular manner, charging the French horse so often and so warmly, that more than half of their corps were killed upon the spot.

In the mean time the enemy fled towards Ghent, in inexpressible confusion. The Duke of Vendome proposed to the Duke of Burgundy, that, under favour of the night, they should halt in order to form their troops, and give their march at least the air of a retreat, but his advice was unheeded ; for, of all the general officers present, only Count d'Eureux was of his sentiment. Observing therefore that nothing was to be done with people frightened out of their wits, he gave the word for a retreat, which no sooner slipped his lips, than the generals as well as the private men threw themselves into the road of Ghent, with a precipitation unexampled. The Duke de Vendome looked with grief and shame on this scandalous behaviour ; finding however twenty-five squadrons of his best troops, and about the same number of battalions, unbroken, he formed with these a rear-guard, and thereby preserved the army from a second defeat, which would certainly have been more fatal than the first. The Duke of Marlborough did not forget sending troops enough to pursue : forty squadrons from the right were dispatched at break of day with a good corps of foot, under the command of the Generals Bulau and Lumley. As a confused march is always slow, they came up very soon with the flying French, but they were able to do them no mischief ; they fled through a great road, the sides of which the Duke de Vendome lined with his grenadiers, and covered their rear with his horse. The allies, attempting to force twelve companies of grenadiers which were in the rear of all, were much more warmly received than they expected ; for

Pents's

Pents's regiment of horse was almost entirely cut to pieces, the grenadiers of Major Irwin were repulsed, and Major-general Meredith was wounded. War, says our author M. Dumont, is a very unsettled thing, and demands as much conduct as courage in those who follow it; who could have believed that after so glorious and so complete a victory the victors themselves should receive the next day a check from an enemy beaten, flying, and astonished? But indeed it was not so, those who repulsed the allies were troops under the Duke de Vendome, who were never broken: such as followed the Duke of Burgundy crowded the streets of Ghent with themselves and baggage, and never stopped till they were quite on the other side, where at last they began to think they were in some sort of safety. After they were a little refreshed, a council of war was held, in which the far greater part of the generals were of opinion that the princes ought immediately to take post for Ypres, and that the troops should march that way as fast as possible in order to join the Duke of Berwick. But as they were not now in the sight of an enemy, nor in such a situation that reason could not be heard; the Duke de Vendome therefore took this opportunity to give them his sentiments at large. He said he had been long enough passive under rash and raw councils, of which they now saw the fruits; that in the situation they were in it was of the utmost consequence to the king's service, that no more blunders were made; that, as for the false steps already taken, those who were the authors of them might answer for them, but for the rest he would answer himself; that it was not to be doubted the allies would form some siege or other; and that, in order to give them disquiet, the king's army must not be cooped up in lines, but remain in some post where they might at once enjoy provisions and security; preserve Ghent and Bruges, to which they were bound in honour; deprive the allies of the navigation of the Schelde,

cut off their communication with Antwerp, and keep the Dutch in continual terror for their own country. In order to all this he said there was nothing more necessary than to encamp behind the canal of Ghent and Bruges, from whence, besides the advantages before-mentioned, they might easily disturb the convoys going from Brussels: he concluded that this was not his opinion, but his resolution; and then, turning to the generals, "For your parts, gentlemen, (said he,) you have nothing to do but to get ready to march to-morrow to Lovendeghem, for there I intend my headquarters shall be." This discourse did not please the Duke of Burgundy; but, as he found his honour concerned, and knew, that, though the title was in him, the command was in the Duke de Vendome, he and his generals were forced to submit: and thus, by the confession of friends and enemies, Vendome saved the troops of France and France itself.

M. de Quincy, in his account of this battle, endeavours all he can to cover the Duke of Burgundy's mistakes; he attributes the bad situation they were in at the beginning of the engagement, to their want of diligence in marching, affirming that, if they had been six hours sooner on the banks of the Schelde, they would have prevented the allies, and saved that unfortunate engagement. He gives the highest commendations to the Duke of Marlborough, whom he allows to have been the soul of the confederate army, and to have forced victory to the side on which he fought, by his excellent disposition of his troops, and his timely shifting corps of horse and foot from places where they were useless into places where there was most need of them. He admits that the retreat was as precipitate and confused as any thing can be imagined; but, he takes notice of a stratagem made use of by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, after the battle was over, not mentioned by any English author: they posted, according to this writer, a great number of drums

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drums at the head of their troops, who beat the French retreat, while some refugee officers cried aloud, *Amoy, Picardie*, and so to the rest of the French battalions, whereby numbers were taken prisoners who would otherwise have escaped. He confesses that the Duke de Vendome brought up the rear in person, but he seems afraid of entering deeply into the matter, though he gives us to understand in general terms, that their own faults were no less fatal to the French than the valour and conduct of the allies. It is much to the honour of M. de Quincy, that, in his account of this battle, he gives all due praise to our late king, then Electoral Prince of Hanover, and speaks with the same candour of his vivacity in attacking the French at the head of Bulau's dragoons, as any of the English or Dutch writers.

As to the loss sustained by the French, accounts differ widely: the largest we have seen makes the killed and wounded 4200, the prisoners including officers 9800, and the deserters 2400; in all 16,400, together with ten pieces of cannon, fifty-six pair of colours, fifty-two standards, eight pair of kettle-drums, and 4500 horses. An intercepted letter of a French officer speaks on that head in the following terms:

"At least forty of our regiments are reduced to a wretched condition, the greatest part of them being killed or taken; so that it will be long before they can be re-established. Of four regiments of the king's household, at least half are taken prisoners, and among them are several persons of note. The Chevalier de Longueville and fifteen other officers were mortally wounded, and two of them are dead since the battle. The regiments of Pfiffer and Villars are quite ruined, and almost all their officers are taken, with all their baggage, &c. Amongst the prisoners were above 700 officers, viz. a lieutenant-general, four major-generals, five brigadiers, fourteen colonels, nine majors, 206 captains, 147 lieutenants, ninety-six counts,

186 gens d'armes, or life-guards, and forty-seven quarter-masters: the Marquis de Ximenes, colonel of the regiment of Royal Roussillon, and the Sieur de la Breteche colonel of horse, with a great number of other officers, were killed."---Quincy has given us the following list of persons of distinction taken prisoners in this battle: The Marquis de Biron, lieutenant-general; Count Ruffey, lieutenant-general; M. Fitzgerald, marshal de camp; M. de la Vierge, marshal de camp and quarter-master general of horse; Marquis de Croy, Chevalier de Pouriere, and M. Phiffer brigadiers; the Duke de St. Aignan, colonel of horse, with eight or nine more colonels and other officers, to the number of 535, and 150 of the household troops, and about 7000 private men killed and taken.---As to the loss of the allies, there was a very exact account published, by which it appears that they had 825 men only killed, and 2147 wounded; in all 2972; of these the Dutch suffered most, having no less than 350 killed, and 1006 wounded; whereas of the British troops there were only forty-three killed and 104 wounded: so that, all things considered, this victory was as cheap as it was considerable.

The confederate generals were very assiduous in concerting measures for improving to the very utmost the victory they had gained; and it was resolved that Marlborough's army should march towards Menin, pass the Lys, there level the French lines between Warnton and Ypres, and prevent any re-inforcement from being thrown into the last-mentioned place, or the French army from returning that way; while Prince Eugene with a detachment should march to Brussels, and there draw together the Imperial forces in order to observe the motions of the Duke of Berwick, and prevent the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry from retreating through Brabant the same way they came.

Count Lottum, in pursuance of these resolutions, with lieutenant-generals Fagel and Dopf, marched on
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the 13th of July with thirty battalions, fifty squadrons, and some field pieces, for the French lines, where they arrived on the 15th, and took about 500 men, with twelve commissioned officers, prisoners, and began immediately to level them. The same day the Duke of Marlborough marched the army under his command in two columns towards Menin, passed the Lys on two bridges near that place, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Werwick. A detachment from the confederate army was sent to raise contributions as far as Arras; but, the magistrates of that country not agreeing to the sums demanded, the allies set fire to two of the suburbs of that city, and reduced them to ashes; after which a party was dispatched to do the same at Lens, but the inhabitants of that town prevented it by giving security to pay the sums demanded.---At the same time that Marlborough reaped these advantages from his late victory at Oudenarde, he took care to order things in such a manner as to make the French very uneasy in their camp behind the canal of Ghent, by sending detachments to interrupt their convoys from Tournay and other places. The chief reason of which was that the enemy's remaining there impeded very much the designs of the confederates, and obliged them to send back their baggage from Sas-van-Ghent, in order to bring it round from Antwerp to Brussels, by means of the canals; at the same time a new train of battering cannon was sent to the last-mentioned city from Maestricht, and all necessary preparations made for sending the heavy baggage to the camp, which was accordingly performed with unexampled prudence and success on the 25th of July.

The next day a numerous detachment, commanded in chief by Count Tilly, and under him by Lieutenant-generals Orkney, Rantzau, and Hompech, with the Major-generals Webb, Rantzau, and Erpach, were sent into Artois: the infantry which consisted of four battalions

battalions and 1000 grenadiers took post at la Basse, but the cavalry which consisted of fifty squadrons penetrated into Picardy, from whence it brought off several hostages, and did a great deal of mischief, notwithstanding the French made several motions to engage the Duke of Marlborough to recal them.

In revenge, however, of this irruption into France, the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome, having provided for their army by carrying off all the corn in the country of Waes, as far as Aloft, detached 10,000 men under the command of the Sieur du Rozel, to lay Dutch Flanders under contribution. General Fagel and Major-general Murray, who commanded there, finding themselves too weak to defend their lines, abandoned them and retired to Sluys, which gave the enemy an opportunity of entering the island of Cadfant, which they plundered and burnt in a miserable manner, carrying off 1200 horses, a very rich booty in cattle and other things, and, what was still worse, they carried off hostages for the payment of a large sum of money which they thought fit to demand, by way of balance perhaps for the sums received by the allies in Artois and Picardy. Miserable indeed is the situation of the peaceable inhabitants of a country the seat of war; and happy ought the people of Great Britain to esteem themselves, where these calamities so rarely happen! happy moreover, in having the liberty of grumbling continually, and of declaring themselves oppressed and ruined, while they enjoy a degree of security and prosperity unexampled perhaps, in the present distracted state of things, upon the face of the globe!

The confederate generals had by this time resolved to make, without farther delay, some considerable siege, in order to which such preparations were made at Brussels, as had never yet been seen, either in this or any former war. The future success of all their great designs depending evidently on the safe arrival of
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An exact Representation of the Siege of Lisle by John Duke of Marlborough.

London, Publish'd as directs March 3^d 1797.

a convoy, and the French on their side manifesting a full resolution to interrupt it, if possible, Prince Eugene gave on this occasion an extraordinary proof of his consummate knowledge in the art of war; for he took his measures so exactly, and posted his several detachments so judiciously, that, though this convoy extended five leagues, and marched very slowly all the way, yet the Duke of Burgundy at the head of 30,000 men had the mortification to look on without being able to undertake any thing, and behold it get safe into Aeth. The Prince of Hesse Cassel had a great share in this extraordinary march; but Prince Eugene himself advanced as far as Soignes, and gave all the necessary directions in person.

It being now pretty evident that the siege of Lisle was the enterprize for which the allies made such mighty preparations, the French began immediately to take all imaginable precautions for its defence. But, in order to have a right idea of the importance of this grand undertaking, it will be necessary to give a description of the place.

Lisle, or rather l'Isle, is the capital of French Flanders; and in the opinion of some may be called the second town in the French dominions. It was built by Baldwin earl of Flanders, or rather improved and erected into a city by him, because he was born in its neighbourhood, and from thence called Baldwin Delisle. It was walled in 1046, and met with so many favours from the sovereigns of Flanders, that by degrees it became one of the finest towns in all that rich province. Louis XIV. reduced it in person in the year 1667. In the year 1668, it was yielded to him by the peace of Aix la Chapelle; and from that time the King of France spared neither pains nor cost in fortifying and adorning it. The famous M. Vauban erected a citadel the most regular, and at the same time one of the strongest, that had ever been seen, of which he remained governor to his death. The town itself was

also fortified in such a manner that it was held impregnable. As to the situation of Lisle, it is in the midst of rivulets, pools, and marshes, whence its name *l'Isle*, "the Island," though it is called by the Flemmings *Ryssel*, and from its beauty and riches *le petit Paris*. It stands fifteen miles west of Tournay, eighteen north of Doway, thirty-six south-west of Ghent, thirty-seven south-east of Dunkirk, and thirty-eight west of Mons.

As soon as this siege was apprehended, the Marshal de Boufflers, governor of Flanders, demanded leave to shew his zeal for the king's service, by defending it in person, which was given him. He had under him the Marquis de Sourville, M. de la Lande, Lieutenant-general Lee, and many other officers of note; sixteen battalions of foot, nine squadrons of dragoons, and 800 invalids, who were yet capable of doing some duty. As soon as the marshal entered the place, he took all imaginable pains to put it into the best posture of defence possible; he caused such soldiers as after the battle Oudenarde dropped into the villages adjoining, to be formed into four battalions, two of which were destined to attend the artillery, and the other two did duty with the garrison. On the whole the French were so sanguine, that they fancied the place out of danger; and the great Duke de Vendome himself is reported to have said, "he did not think so wise a commander as Prince Eugene would venture on so rash an undertaking."

All things being in readiness, the Prince of Orange on the 12th of August was detached with thirty-one battalions to take post at Marquette, on the Lower Deule, within half a league of Lisle, and Lieutenant-general Wood with thirty four squadrons marched to Potteghem. The next day Prince Eugene having passed the Marque at Pont-à-tresin, invested Lisle between that place and the Upper Deule, while the Prince of Orange with his detachment invested it between the Upper and Lower Deule. The Duke of Marl-

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borough in the mean time formed at Helchin a camp of observation of 75,000 men, whereby he not only effectually covered Prince Eugene, but also secured Brussels and other great towns.

The siege of Lisle was carried on by two attacks, the first on the right of the Deule towards the gate of St. Andrew, the other against the gate of St. Magdalen; the one under the direction of the engineer de Roques, the other under that of M. du Mey. On the 14th the quarters were settled; on the sixteenth the principal engineers pitched on a place between the Marque and the Deule, for the park of artillery; it consisted of 120 pieces of battering cannon, forty mortars, with 400 ammunition waggons. On the 18th a very extraordinary accident happened: as the Prince of Orange's valet de chambre was buttoning his highness's waistcoat, a cannon bullet struck his head off, passing over the prince's shoulder, and beating the poor man's blood and brains all over the room. As some bullets had before pierced these apartments, his highness removed to the castle of Holbeck, Prince Eugene having fixed his quarters at the abbey of Loos. Marshal Boufflers encamped his garrison on the glacis of Lisle, and by detachments from thence incommoded the workmen of the allies very much. On the 19th King Augustus of Poland and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel arrived in the army of the Duke of Marlborough, and saw the first line of the army pass in review. On the 20th they saw the second line reviewed, after which they set out for the siege, alighting at the quarters of Prince Eugene, where they were magnificently entertained.

All things were now ready for opening the trenches: 4000 workmen were appointed for that service, covered by ten battalions of Imperial, Palatine, and Hessian, troops; and ten battalions more with 600 horse were ordered to be ready to sustain them. On the 23d Marshal Boufflers made a sally to disturb the workmen,

and was so lucky as to take some prisoners, amongst whom was M. Pettendorf, a lieutenant-general who commanded in the trenches, and who had advanced a little too far. The marshal received him with great civility, and assigned him lodgings in the citadel. On the 24th Prince Eugene gave orders for attacking a chapel from whence they were much disturbed in the trenches: this was performed by 300 grenadiers, commanded by a major and two captains; they were sustained by some battalions, and the attack was very warm and bloody. The French had in it 200 grenadiers commanded by two captains: the officers were both killed, with about fifty men, and the rest taken prisoners. On the 25th M. de Boufflers caused a mill to be burnt, where otherwise the allies would have taken post. On the 26th a very black attempt was made on the person of Prince Eugene. The post-house being about two leagues distant from the camp, the commissary wrote a letter to General Dopf's secretary, by a servant that gentleman had sent in the morning for his letters, in which letter the commissary desired him to deliver two that were enclosed to his highness, because he had no post-boy at hand to send them by. General Dopf being then at the prince's quarters, the secretary gave those letters to his adjutant, who gave them to Prince Eugene. One of these letters came from the Hague, and the commissary imagined the other came from thence also. The prince, opening one of these epistles, found in it nothing but a greasy paper, which, without any show of concern, he threw upon the ground. The adjutant, taking it up, put it to his nose, but was immediately taken so ill that they had much ado to save his life. It was then tied about a dog's neck, and, though the creature had the best antidotes administered, it died in twenty-four hours in a miserable condition. General Dopf, and some other persons of distinction who were in the room where the prince opened the letter, expressing their concern

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that there should be people in the world base enough to undertake such things, his highness said very coolly, "Gentlemen, you need not wonder so much at it, this is not the first billet of its sort I have received."---It would be tedious to give an exact detail of the siege, because it would take up much more room than the bounds we are prescribed will allow; we shall content ourselves therefore with observing, that never any siege was carried on with greater vigour, nor any place defended with greater bravery and boldness; but Boufflers became quickly sensible from the prodigious fire made by the besiegers that the town must inevitably fall into their hands; on which account he removed in time his best cannon into the citadel, though at the same time he neglected nothing that could be done for the defence of the town; giving notice also to the French court that it was impossible for him to hold out against such an army and such a train of artillery, and therefore entreating them to think in time of affording him relief. The court of France dispatched orders to the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome to hazard any thing for the relief of so important a place as Lisle. Upon this those princes resolved, if possible, to join the Duke of Berwick, in order to which some motions were made by them and by the flying camp commanded by that last-mentioned duke. The Duke of Marlborough, having received advice of the enemy's march, immediately repassed the Schelde and returned to his old camp at Helchin, where he was hardly arrived before he had an account that the Duke of Berwick had passed the Dender that morning and joined the Duke of Burgundy, so that their forces were now increased to 208 squadrons and 126 battalions. The Duke of Marlborough apprehending that the enemy did now in earnest think of attempting to raise the siege, and knowing that his own army was far inferior to that of the enemy, dispatched orders to General Fagel to join him with all imaginable expedition with what forces

could be spared out of Dutch Flanders and Brabant. In the mean time his grace broke up from Helchin and marched into the plains of Lisle, where on the 1st of September he fixed his head-quarters at Peronne.

The marshal de Boufflers knowing well enough, by the motions of the allies, that they were making the dispositions necessary for attacking the covered-way, prepared to defend it as well as he was able. He held a council of war, in which the Marquis of Sourville and M. Lee, lieutenant-generals, the M. de Freselliere, who commanded the artillery, and the other principal officers of the garrison, assisted, in order to determine after what manner the troops should be disposed on this occasion. After some debate, Marshal Boufflers desired the Marquis de Freselliere to draw up a disposition in writing, which he engaged should be exactly put into execution; one point only, at the desire of some general officers, was changed; for, instead of 300 men which the marquis directed in each tenailon, in order to fall by the saliant angles of the counterscarp, they allowed but half the number, which, as we shall see, proved fatal to them, the allies making themselves masters of those angles for want of men.

About eight o'clock in the evening of the 7th of September the signal was given from the confederate camp by a general discharge from all the batteries. The troops designed for the attack on the left marched out of the trenches with all the intrepidity imaginable; they moved directly towards the palisades, from whence they drove the French in a very short time; upon which the enemy sprung three mines, which did prodigious execution; at last however the besiegers possessed themselves of the saliant angle of the counterscarp of the horn-work. The attack on the right was likewise performed with incredible bravery, and the troops continued to advance, notwithstanding the warm reception they met with; there likewise they seized the saliant angle of the counterscarp, which perhaps they could

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not have done if the 300 grenadiers had been allowed according to Freilliere's project. It cost the allies, according to the most moderate computation, between 3000 and 4000 men killed and wounded, and was one of the briskest actions which happened during the war. King Augustus of Poland, the Prince of Orange, Prince Eugene, and the Hereditary Prince of Hesse, were spectators of this action, which, no doubt, contributed not a little to invigorate the troops. A misunderstanding happening between the two chief engineers, together with great want of ammunition, however much retarded the siege, and created great diffidence in the minds of many of the general officers, notwithstanding the indefatigable care of Prince Eugene, who was continually employed in disposing every thing for the facilitating an undertaking in which his honour was so much concerned.

The French generals fatigued themselves in contriving means to distress the confederate army in such a manner as to oblige Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Lisle: in order to this they at last found out means to engage some of the townsmen at Aeth in a conspiracy to deliver up that town, while on the other hand they were indefatigable in concerting measures for cutting off the convoys, of which the camp before Lisle stood in need. The former scheme of their's came to nothing; for, before the conspiracy at Aeth was ripe for execution, it was discovered. In the latter part of their design however they were more successful; for, after various motions of both armies, they began to throw up lines for securing the passages of the Schelde, and worked at them so hard, that they appeared rather like the fortifications of a town than retrenchments thrown up in haste, notwithstanding they were seventy miles in extent; they erected also, wherever they thought them necessary, batteries, and, casting up a line from the hill near Oudenarde to Ename, they entirely inclosed the first-mentioned town on that side of the river,

river, and cut off the communication of the confederates with Bruffels, and, what was much worse, deprived them of all intercourse with Holland. The Duke of Burgundy was very uneasy for want of intelligence from Lisle, which put an officer in his army, one Captain Dubois, on one of the boldest enterprizes perhaps ever undertaken by a single man; he determined in himself to attempt getting into the city, notwithstanding the strict guards kept by the besiegers, and he was so lucky as to succeed. He then undressed himself, and, having hid his clothes, swam over seven canals and ditches, and so got into the town. Marshal Boufflers, having provided him clothes, conducted him to both the attacks, shewed him the condition all things were in, and, having written a letter to his highness, he rolled it up in wax, which the captain put in his mouth: then he resigned the suit the marshal had given him, swam over the same ditches, dressed himself on the other side in the clothes he left behind him, and returned safe to the Duke of Burgundy with the intelligence he wanted. The French say, that Marshal Boufflers acquainted the Duke of Burgundy by this gentleman, that, if the allies could be but disappointed of one convoy, the siege must be raised; and that at all events he would undertake that the place should hold out to the 6th or 10th of October.

Prince Eugene, finding things in a proper situation by the 19th of September, resolved to storm the outworks on the left of the hornwork of the gate of St. Andrew, that part of the tenaille which lay next that attack, the covered way in the front of the breach, and the place of arms before the ravelin on the hornwork; on the right, that part of the tenaille on that side, and the counterscarp to the ravelin from the gate of St. Magdalen to the Deule. The assault was intended to be made the twentieth in the evening; but, the enemy having burnt the galleries and bridges which were to be made use of therein, it was for this reason

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put off to the 21st. About half past six the trenches were relieved by Lieutenant-general Wilke, Major-general Saiken, and Sir Richard Temple, with the usual number of battalions, the signal being given by a general discharge from the batteries, and the mines on the right and left sprung with good success; the grenadiers marched out with great intrepidity, mounted the breach of the tenaille on the right, obliged the enemy to retire into the retrenchment of that work, and made there a good lodgment. On the left they had still greater success, for they possessed themselves of a place of arms on the counterscarp of the tenaille, and beat the enemy out of the counterscarp before the grand breach, so that here they made two lodgments; but on a sudden the enemy came down in such numbers, that the officers who commanded this party of the allies, with a considerable number of his men, were presently killed, the lodgments ruined, and the rest of the grenadiers obliged to retire. Prince Eugene, seeing this, and believing that his presence would re-animate the grenadiers, came out of the trenches, and, as the French accounts say, rallied them thrice, advancing at their head, till he received a wound by a musquet shot, which, grazing over his left eye, beat off his hat; the Prince of Hesse Cassel, who was near him, took his own hat, which was likewise shot through and through, and put it upon Prince Eugene's head, who was then prevailed on to retire, in order to have his wound dressed. This action certainly cost the allies very dear; probably M. Quincy carries it too high, when he rates it at 5000 men; it was however, so considerable, that the Duke of Marlborough sent next day a reinforcement of grenadiers from his army. He came the same morning to pay Prince Eugene a visit, and was greatly surprised to find him just ready to mount on horseback. His grace and King Augustus of Poland with much ado prevailed upon him to desist, and to keep his chamber till his wound was healed.

healed. The States General took this opportunity of remonstrating to his highness, by their deputies, that, his life being of the utmost consequence to all Europe, they thought it their duty to conjure him to be more careful for the future, and not to expose his person so freely as hitherto he had done. Not only these deputies, but several of the general officers in his own army, advised his highness to raise the siege; but that was a thing he would never hear of, declaring it to be his settled resolution to remain before the place with his own troops, and with them to continue the siege.--- On the 23d an attack was made on the tenaille on the left, by a detachment of 300 grenadiers from the grand army, supported by 120 others, and 270 fuzileers. On the attack of the right there was 100 grenadiers supported by 280 others, and 270 fuzileers. All things being in readiness, and the Duke of Marlborough himself in the trenches, he gave the signal for the attack, which was made with as much vigour and success as could be expected, though not without considerable effusion of blood; however, the enemy being beaten from their post, a new lodgment was made, and the former enlarged along the covered-way. The duke returned that night to his own army, but came back the next day to that which carried on the siege.

In the condition things were in, it has since passed for a miracle amongst such as have been versed in military affairs, that the siege of Lisle was still continued, and continued too with success. The army of observation, which was properly under the Duke of Marlborough, was continually alarmed by the motions of the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome. The army before Lisle on the other hand, notwithstanding the prodigious convoys it had received, was in such distress for ammunition and other necessaries, that for want of a further supply all things were at a stand. It was very lucky that Boufflers and his garrison were pretty near in the same situation, through the length of the siege

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if we believe the M. de Quincy, through the mismanagement of the marshal if we credit M. Feuquieres. Both sides were now therefore put upon thinking, and that with the deepest attention, how these evils might be remedied; and in some measure both succeeded. The Duke of Marlborough no sooner found the communication with Brussels cut off, but he formed a design of opening a new one by the way of Ostend; for, Prince Eugene taking upon him to be responsible for the success of the siege provided he was supplied with ammunition, the Duke of Marlborough on the other hand undertook that he should have it: in order to this, his grace sent 700 waggons under a strong guard to Ostend, where the Dutch commissary, not having a sufficient quantity of ammunition, borrowed several hundred barrels of powder, and also gave directions to drain the country between Ostend and Newport, and ordered a bridge to be thrown over the canal of Lessingen, by which means he opened a communication with the grand army and a way for the convoy to pass. But let us first see by what means Boufflers procured the supply of powder he so much wanted.

M. de Boufflers made choice of the Chevalier de Luxembourg, as the most proper for effecting what he desired; and, having informed him of his wants, that general gave him notice that he would endeavour to introduce the succours he requested by the gate of Nôtre Dame; the better to conceal his design, he threw into Doway, Arras, and Bethune, a reinforcement of troops, mostly horse, under pretence of impeding the incursions of the allies into Artois and Flanders, and in the mean time made the necessary preparations at Doway, for the execution of the design he had formed. On the 28th of September, the gates of Doway being shut to prevent any one giving intelligence, the Chevalier de Luxembourg marched with 2000 horse, dragoons and carbineers, every trooper having behind him sixty pounds weight of powder,

every dragoon and carbineer three fuzils and a quantity of flints. This body, marching slowly, arrived between nine and ten at night at a barrier of the lines of circumvallation: the centinel immediately called out, *qui vive*, on which they answered "Dutch from the army of Marlborough;" and, as the officer who was at their head knew exactly the names of the regiments that were out on parties, and spoke the language well, he had no great trouble in persuading the officer of the guard to open the barrier, especially when he told him that he brought powder for the besiegers, and that he was pursued by a detachment from the French army: 1800 or 1900 men had passed the barrier, when an officer of Luxembourg's detachment cried out imprudently, *ferre, ferre*, i. e. "shut, shut;" the officer of the guard thereupon commanded them to halt, and, not being obeyed, he fired upon them; and, two or three sacks of powder blowing up, they had time to shut the barrier, about sixty men and several horses being burnt, and the rest of the troops were obliged to gallop back to Doway as hard as they could. At the noise of the fire, some dragoons and other troops who were posted next to the barrier pursued the French, as well those who were got in as those who were fled towards Doway; however, Luxembourg entered at the gate of Nôtre Dame with 1800 men, and, as the French say, 80,000 pounds weight of powder, and 1200 hundred fuzils; but perhaps this account is a little swelled, and we may be nearer the truth if we take half that quantity of powder. In the retreat of those who took the road of Doway, the Marquis de Bethune, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, a captain, and two subalterns, were taken prisoners, with twenty-five troopers; and about 100 were killed. The Chevalier de Luxembourg, foreseeing that some such accident as fell out might possibly happen, put himself in the front of his detachment, that if any got into Lisle he might be among the number; direct-
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ing his secretary however to remain in the rear of all; and, as soon as he had seen how things went, to ride back with all possible expedition to Doway, and from thence dispatch two couriers, one to the king, the other to the Duke of Burgundy, with exact accounts of the affair, which instructions the secretary followed very exactly. The French king no sooner received the account, than he promoted the Chevalier de Luxembourg to the rank of a lieutenant-general. Quincy, in his military history, takes no notice of any accident befalling that part of the detachment which passed the barrier; but the Prince of Hesse, in his letter dated the day after this attempt was made, says, that there were three great explosions of powder heard in the camp, the last so great that it shook the ground, which his highness says was occasioned by the blowing up of a great number of sacks powder at the very gate of Nôtre Dame; which first falling to the ground by the troops pressing to get in, were afterwards trampled under the horses feet, and at last set on fire by the sparks struck by their shoes out of the stones. His highness adds that it was a dreadful spectacle to see the way strewed with dead carcasses, horses heads, arms, legs half burnt; this shews that the expedition was not altogether so fortunate as the French make it; but it no way detracts from the merit of the Chevalier de Luxembourg, who shewed his consummate skill in military affairs, in forming so judicious a project as this, for passing through the camp of a general famed for vigilance, and carrying so great a succour into a place so straitly besieged.---We are now to attend to the success of Marlborough's convoy of ammunition to the besiegers. That general, conceiving that the six battalions and 800 horse detached under Brigadier Landsberg would not be a sufficient guard for that convoy which he expected, afterwards detached Brigadier Starckenberg with ten squadrons more, and on further intelligence General Els with six battalions for the same

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purpose ; and, on the 26th, by break of day, he sent Major-general Webb with Count Nassau Woudenburg, a brigadier, and son to Field-marshal d'Auverquerque, with twelve battalions and some squadrons, with orders to march within four leagues of Lessingen, in order to oppose the enemy if they should attack the convoy ; and the night following he detached Major-general Cadogan with eighteen squadrons to meet the convoy on their passing the canal of Bruges.---The Duke of Burgundy, in the mean while, sent orders to the Count de la Motte to abandon all other designs, and to march immediately towards Brussels, in order to attack the convoy ; but, notwithstanding all the diligence of the count, the troops of the allies secured the posts of Lessingen and Oudenbourg. The Duke of Burgundy then sent M. Berwick with a great body of troops to support la Motte ; but, having by these detachments extremely weakened the grand army, he was forced to throw up new entrenchments before those passages of the Schelde which he apprehended to be in most danger ; and the necessity of these works put an end to all the schemes his highness had formed for attacking of Brussels and other places, for which, however, preparations had been made at Mons and Doway at an immense expence.

Major-general Webb, having maturely weighed the situation of things, advanced towards Ostend, from whence on the 26th he detached 600 grenadiers, and two battalions, under the command of Brigadier Landsberg, to sustain Major Savary, who had taken possession of the post of Oudenbourg, which was of very great consequence, for the next day it was attacked by a great detachment of French, who were repulsed with loss.

On the 27th the convoy set out from Ostend, and passed the canal at Lessingen, of which the Count de la Motte having intelligence, he detached Brigadier Villemort with 1200 foot and 300 horse, in order to

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cut off the convoy there; but the detachment which attended it gave the brigadier such a check, that he was forced to retire without effecting any thing.

The 28th, all the cavalry of the allies was detached to Hoogled to attend the convoy, excepting 150 horse which remained at Oudenbourg, under the command of Count Lottum, who, with the two battalions and 600 grenadiers, was ordered to escort the convoy to Cocklaer, and to rejoin the infantry at Tourout. In consequence of these dispositions, the convoy advanced under its escort commanded by Major-general Cadogan, with an intent to gain the wood of Wynendale, Major-general Webb intending to have posted all the infantry detached from the army of the Duke of Marlborough, and which had been landed at Ostend, in a lower way, which he apprehended to be the only place where the French could make any attempt on the convoy with probable hopes of success. Towards noon Count Lottum joined him, and gave him intelligence that the enemy was advancing. This brought on the famous battle of Wynendale, so called from a little town adjoining to a wood, eleven miles south of Bruges, and twenty-eight north of Lisse. The following account of that remarkable action, one of the most glorious and best conducted in all the war, was written by Webb himself, presented to her majesty, and afterwards published by authority in the London Gazette:

As soon as Count Lottum had reported that the enemy were advancing, "all the foot, consisting of twenty-two battalions, Count Lottum with his 150 horse making the advanced-guard, with the quarter-masters and grenadiers that were not detached, were ordered to march immediately to gain the village of Ichtegem by the way of Wynendale. As soon as the advanced-guard got to Wynendale, they perceived the enemy in the opening of the plain; whereupon the quarter-masters and grenadiers were drawn up in order
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of battle. Major-general Webb, and Count Nassau Woudenburg at the head of 150 horse, advancing to reconnoitre the enemy, giving orders at the same time to the foot to advance, and form themselves as fast as possible in the plain. The 150 horse were left at the opening of the plain, under the command of Count Lottum, to amuse the enemy ; and, to embarrass them the more, the quarter-masters and grenadiers were posted in a low coppice on that side of the plain where the enemy were expected to pass.

“As soon as our troops passed the defile into the plain, Major-general Webb (who as eldest major-general commanded in chief) drew them up in order of battle, posting them in the opening between the wood of Wynendale and the coppice on the other side, where the quarter-masters and grenadiers were posted. We had scarcely got six battalions into the opening when the enemy began to cannonade us with forty pieces of cannon, ten whereof were of three bores. But, notwithstanding the great fire of the enemy, the 150 horse kept their ground, which produced the desired effect, in giving the general time to form his foot in two lines. The left wing was extended beyond the low coppice, as well to prevent the enemy from passing that way, as to cover our flank. On our right flank was posted, in the wood of Wynendale, the regiment of Henkelum ; and on our flank, on the left, the regiment of the hereditary Prince of Prussia, commanded by Colonel Rhader, with orders not to discover themselves nor fire, till they could take the enemy in flank. Some platoons of grenadiers were advanced forty paces upon the right and left with the same orders ; and the quarter-masters were also posted in a road on the left, that crossed through the afore-mentioned low coppice.

“The enemy, after three hours cannonading, advanced towards us on the plain in twelve lines, six whereof were foot, and six horse ; Count Lottum was hereupon ordered to retire and post himself 300 paces behind

behind the foot, which he did in very good order. The French continued to march straight up to us with forty battalions and sixty squadrons; but, the general perceiving they extended themselves to the right in the coppice, he sent Count Nassau to observe their motion, who immediately ordered thither the regiment of Grumkau commanded by Colonel Beschefer; and Brigadier Els, being come up with the last regiment, was posted on the right in the wood of Wynendale.

"About half a quarter of an hour before the engagement began, Brigadier Landsberg, with the two battalions and 600 grenadiers which had been detached, having advice that the enemy advanced to attack us, rejoined us just time enough to form a third line. Some minutes after the enemy began the attack, marching within a hundred and fifty paces of our flank on the right, where the battalions, who hid themselves, according to the general's order, and who were not to fire till the French flank came opposite to them, gave them such a warm welcome, that their left wing gave into their center; and the regiment of the hereditary prince, which was posted on the flank on our left, much about the same distance, did not miss the opportunity of their disorder, to give them a very vigorous discharge, which put their whole line in confusion. Nevertheless, the enemy pushed on, and put two of our battalions in disorder; but the Swiss regiment of Albemarle, under the command of Colonel Hirtzel, advancing upon their horse that were endeavouring to penetrate, engaged them long enough to give time to the general and Count Nassau to bring up the regiments of Bernsdorf, Gauvain, and Lindeboom, to supply the room of those that were pressed, which was done in a moment. However, the enemy, supported by so many lines, made another attempt to penetrate; but our battalions rather advanced than gave way, though the general gave orders against advancing, fearing that it might render the fire of our flanks useless. His precaution

caution had all the desired success; the regiments and grenadiers making such a continual fire, as forced their two wings upon their centre, and obliged the whole to retire in the greatest confusion, notwithstanding all the efforts their officers could make, by encouragement or violence, to keep them up; so that they only fired at a great distance on our lines, which ours returned, advancing by platoons, as at their exercise, with all the order imaginable.

“Major-general Cadogan, who came up some time after the action began, offered to charge the enemy in their disorder with two squadrons of horse, the other four which he had sent for not being arrived till near seven at night; but it was not thought adviseable to expose so small a number to charge the enemy, who had brought up all their horse to favour their retreat. The battle lasted two hours, and was very hot, in which we had 912, officers and soldiers, killed and wounded. The enemy, as we are assured by letters from Ghent and Bruges, and by report of prisoners and deserters, lost between 6000 and 7000 men. They made their retreat in so great confusion that they left most of their cannon in a wood, which they did not carry off till next day at eleven o'clock, after hearing that our convoy had passed Rousselaer. We remained on the field of battle till two o'clock the next morning, having first carried off all our wounded and several of the enemy. This victory is the more surprising, as by reason of several detachments we had not above 6000 men in the action, and the enemy by their own accounts had 24,000 men.”

Quincy, whom we have so often quoted in this work, allows that the troops under the command of the Count de la Motte were greatly superior to those under the command of General Webb, to whom he clearly ascribes the honour of this day; though he endeavours to palliate the matter with respect to the count, whose orders, according to him, were very

indifferently obeyed. M. Feuquieres, who speaks with greater freedom, has given us in few words an inimitable account of this business, written with all the fire of an honest old officer, who wished well to his country, and which will, in all probability, perpetuate the fame of M. de la Motte to all posterity: "I shall not," says M. Feuquieres, repeat here the reasons which have been offered for the convoy's going in safety from Ostend to the camp before Lisse. That which to me seems the clearest, and which best accounts for the matter, is the incapacity of M. de la Motte, who was charged to disturb this convoy in its march, which he not only failed to do with a body of troops infinitely superior to its escort, but also found a way to have his troops beaten by that feeble escort. A most extraordinary event surely! for, though we have often heard of convoys that have passed safe with a small guard, through the diligence and secrecy of their march, yet it was never before seen that a convoy attacked by a body of troops infinitely superior to its escort, not only got safe off, but that its feeble escort beat the superior body of troops which attacked it: this wonderful adventure was reserved for M. de la Motte!"

The convoy from Ostend passed through the Duke of Marlborough's army on the 30th of September, and arrived safe in the camp before Lisse the next day. Prince Eugene appeared the same day abroad for the first time after his wound. He did all in his power to revive the spirits of the troops, which were very much sunk through the length of the siege and the difficulties and hardships thereof. On the 3d of October the Duke of Marlborough arrived in the camp before Lisse, and a detachment from his army of 300 grenadiers joined a detachment of the grenadiers from the trenches, and about noon made a vigorous attack on the outworks, which succeeded perfectly well; the enemy, not expecting any such action till evening, were

altogether unprepared, their men being in such confusion, that, instead of properly defending the place, they leaped into the ditches, where most of them were either killed or drowned. By this means the besiegers by half an hour after one made a lodgment on the ravelin, and possessed themselves of the two counter-guards, where they took two pieces of cannon.

Soon after another considerable supply of ammunition, as well from Great Britain as Holland, arrived at Ostend; and on the 12th the Duke of Marlborough detached Major-general Cadogan with eight battalions and nine squadrons to Cocklaer, as well to escort it as to assist in getting it in over the inundations, which was no easy task, considering the pains the enemy took to keep the country, as much as in them lay, under water. Brigadier Grumkau was also detached with five battalions more to sustain Major-general Cadogan, if it should be necessary. On the 14th 500 barrels of powder passed through the Duke of Marlborough's army for the camp before Lisle; and the same day General Fagel was detached with twelve battalions and twenty squadrons to sustain General Cadogan and Brigadier Grumkau.

The Duke de Vendome, observing, in spite of all his care, that, if the allies remained masters of Lef-fingen, they would preserve a communication with Ostend, notwithstanding all the inundations, he determined therefore to reduce that place, though it cost a siege; and the rather, because he was advised from Dunkirk that there was in that place a very considerable quantity of powder and other ammunition. M. de Puignon was charged with this enterprize; the trenches were opened in the night between the 20th and the 21st, and the siege was carried on with all possible vigour. Lieutenant-colonel Rapin and Major Hemert defended it with prodigious valour, killing a great number of the enemy in their trenches, and taking

some officers prisoners, amongst the rest the Chevalier de Croissy, marshal de camp, who offered the English grenadier that seized him 200 pistoles and a captain's commission in a French regiment, if he would go off with him; the soldier, however, resisted the temptation, alleging the dishonour that would attend such conduct; and asking him at the same time, how, when raised to the rank of a captain, he could look his general in the face for whom he had fought for so many years? This instance of fidelity weighed so much with Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, that the former made him a present, and the latter gave him a captain's commission.---The troops encamped near Ostend, under the command of General Erle, having an open communication with the garrison, it was relieved by Colonel Caulfeild with 1250 fresh men. The night between the 25th and 26th, M. de Puiguiou being informed that the garrison were making great rejoicings for the surrender of Lisle, he caused the place to be attacked. It was begun by a prodigious fire from the battery near the trenches, in order to draw the attention of the besiegers on that side, while a great detachment of grenadiers marched by two different routes without noise, to cut off their communication with Ostend. These forces were constrained to wade through several ditches, and to pass several morasses in a night of heavy rain, and so dark that they could scarcely distinguish one another. As soon as they gave notice by a signal, of their having taken post behind the place, M. de Puiguiou caused it to be attacked in front, at the same time the grenadiers on the side of Ostend attacked the retrenchments next them, and put to the sword a guard of about fifty English, who were neither well awake nor sober. They entered the place sword in hand, crying, *Tue, tue.* The garrison were all drunk, the officers a-bed and asleep, so that those who commanded the French troops repressed the rage of the soldiery, and would not suffer

any blood to be shed, but received them all prisoners at discretion. Quincy says there were 800 English and 400 Dutch, exclusive of a colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, thirty-two captains, and a great number of subaltern officers; they found likewise a considerable magazine of powder and ammunition and 80,000 or 90,000*l.* in ready money, which was designed for the payment of the troops. This, though a brisk well-executed attempt, made a poor amends for the loss of Lille, of which we are now to speak.

The Marshal de Boufflers, perceiving that the allies advanced successfully, and that they received constantly new supplies of ammunition and provisions, notwithstanding all the promises that he received from the army that their communication should be entirely cut off with Holland and the Netherlands, and observing that all things necessary for a general storm were on the point of being finished, he on the 22d came to a resolution for beating the chamade, after having sustained a siege of sixty days open trenches, which was accordingly done at four o'clock in the afternoon the same day. Hostages being exchanged, those from the town were conducted to the Abbey de Marquet, where the quarters of Prince Eugene were; his highness entertained them splendidly, and afterwards wrote a billet to the Marshal de Boufflers, in which, after complimenting him on his gallant defence, he told him that, as he was a brave man and an experienced officer, he would leave the terms of the capitulation to himself, notwithstanding things were almost reduced to extremity; which civility his highness declared to be personal, and done merely in regard of the marshal's conduct during the siege. The capitulation was consequently honourable for the French, and none of its articles extravagant with respect to the allies. The horse and dragoons which had entered the town under the command of the Chevalier de Luxembourg were permitted to return to Doway, and the rest of the gar-
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rison was allowed to enter the citadel. Boufflers left a commissary as a hostage for the payment of the debts contracted by his most christian majesty during the siege. The magazines of ammunition and provisions were delivered up to persons appointed by his highness, and all the mines were shewn them to prevent any accident which might have happened after the confederates taking possession of the town. Leave was also given to the M. Boufflers to send an officer with the capitulation to the Duke of Burgundy; and the Prince of Holstenbeck entered the town with twenty-five battalions, Prince Eugene having conferred on him the government of the place.

It is not easy to give even a tolerable account of the loss sustained on both sides during this long and bloody siege; that of the allies is by a Dutch writer computed at 3632 killed and 8322 wounded. M. de Quincy allows that the besieged lost about 5000 men; but it is probable that it did not amount to less than 7000.

The famous Field-marshal d'Auverquerque did not live to see the surrender of Lisle; as he spent his days in camps and armies, and was worn out more with fatigue than years, so he continued to the last to discharge the duties of his function, till after four days sickness he died in his quarters at Rousselaer four days before the surrender of Lisle. His loss was much regretted, especially by the Dutch, who thereby were not only deprived of a good officer, but an able statesman and true patriot. He was in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and particularly remarkable for his disinterestedness and for his generous contempt of money in the execution of his high dignity as commander in chief of the forces of the States, which on his death fell provisionally to the Count de Tilly, the eldest lieutenant-general in their service.

Great endeavours were used to prevail on Marshal de Boufflers to surrender the citadel of Lisle without fatiguing the army of the allies by a new siege; to this
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end the cessation of arms between the garrison in the citadel and the allies, which expired on the 25th, was continued for three days; but, the terms demanded by the marshal being thought unreasonable, hostilities were begun on the 29th on both sides, the allies resolving to proceed by sap, and the Marshal de Boufflers making a prodigious fire from the artillery of the place. The 2d of November nine battalions from the Duke of Marlborough's army joined that commanded by Prince Eugene. On the 9th the Marshal de Boufflers made a sally, but was repulsed with a considerable loss; the Prince de Beveren however had the misfortune to be wounded in the head by a musket-shot, and was carried to Aix la Chapelle, in order to be cured. On the 11th the besiegers made themselves masters of part of the covered-way, but in the night Prince Eugene being in the trenches very narrowly escaped being killed, one of his aid de camps being shot at his side, the ball passing very near his highness. On the 12th the besiegers sprung a mine which did considerable execution, after which the Chevalier de Luxembourg made a sally, and did a good deal of mischief, but was in the end repulsed; and on the 13th the allies made themselves masters of the whole counterescarp, except two places of arms, which the French afterwards abandoned. On the 17th a lodgement was perfected on one of these places of arms; and, the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Holstein going to visit the trenches, M. du Mey, a lieutenant-colonel that attended them, was killed by a musket shot. On the 20th the allies made a lodgment on the glacis, and the Marquis de Surville, who commanded the French troops on duty on the covered-way, advancing a little too far, was shot through the body by a musket-ball. The Marshal de Boufflers made a very brisk sally immediately afterwards, which cost the lives of great numbers of men on both sides. The next morning he sent an officer to acquaint Prince Eugene with M. de Surville's

Surville's misfortune, and desired his leave that he might be received into the town of Lisle, the noise in the citadel being so great that he could not sleep; which his highness very readily granted; but, the town of Lisle proving as noisy almost as the citadel, the Prince sent him with a guard to Doway, where he was cured. On the 26th of November the besiegers made a lodgment on the saliant angles of the second covered-way. On the 28th the M. de Boufflers made a sally with the greatest part of his garrison, and did a great deal of mischief, over-turning the new-made lodgment, and driving the allies out of the covered-way. On the 30th Prince Eugene gave orders for attacking the covered-way again, and the soldiers were so animated by his presence that they carried it with very little trouble. His highness sent a trumpet to M. de Boufflers to advise him to think of preserving himself and the remains of a garrison which had behaved so bravely: he assured him that he was under no small concern at the apprehension of what might befall such a number of gallant men in case of a general assault; that he was willing to grant them any reasonable terms they could ask, and that their obstinacy, instead of gaining them greater honour, might be fatal to the reputation they had already acquired. Boufflers at that time declined treating; but the works being carried on by the besiegers with great success, and every thing being ready by the 6th of December to batter in breach, the garrison being in great want of ammunition, and grown sickly by eating of horse-flesh from the very time they entered the citadel, he at eight o'clock in the evening caused the chamade to be beat; hostages were exchanged the same evening, and articles were easily settled, Prince Eugene keeping strictly to his word, and allowing almost every thing that Marshal Boufflers asked, which was the more generous, since the French themselves own that things were almost in a desperate condition. On the 9th Prince Eugene and the

the Prince of Orange, after signing the capitulation, went to pay the marshal a visit: his highness embraced the marshal as soon as he entered the room. M. Boufflers invited them to supper, and told them, with a smile, that he would endeavour to find something better than horse-flesh for them. The princes complimented him highly on his defence, and the Marshal de Boufflers paid them all possible honours. On the 10th the marshal went to Prince Eugene's quarters and dined there; all the officers of distinction in the army of the confederates went to pay him their compliments. On the day appointed, the Marshal de Boufflers marched out of the citadel at the head of his garrison, and was escorted to Doway by 400 horse: these troops he brought into the city, and quartered them there for a night, causing them to be handsomely regaled at his own expence. Thus ended the memorable siege of Lisle, of which we need say no more than that it fatally convinced the French king that nothing was impossible to the allies.

The Marshal Boufflers found at Doway the king's orders to repair immediately to Paris, which accordingly he did, and the next day went to court, where he met with a most gracious reception, the king presenting him, with his own hand, the brevet for creating him duke and peer of France. It is certain that his most christian majesty wrote to him to surrender the citadel, and declared that he was thoroughly satisfied with his having defended it so long. This letter is said to have been procured by the Duke of Burgundy's friends; nay, so weary was that prince of this unfortunate campaign, that, having put the army into winter quarters, he arrived with the Duke of Berry and the Chevalier de St. George at Versailles, some days before the Marshal de Boufflers.

All Europe were astonished at the reduction of Lisle in the sight of a superior army, which was considered as better able to besiege Eugene and Marlborough,

rough, than these generals were to invest Lisle. The divisions which prevailed in the French army enervated its strength. The officers in the Duke of Vendome's party imputed their misfortunes to the Duke of Burgundy's counsels, who, on their side, charged all on the Duke de Vendome. One of the Duke of Burgundy's courtiers said to Vendome; "See the consequence of your never going to mass; to this we must ascribe all our misfortunes."--"Do you imagine," answered Vendome, "that Marlborough goes thither oftener than I?"---At the close of the campaign the Duke of Vendome went to Paris. He durst not appear in public, dreading the consequences of the hatred which his conduct had raised. Irritated at his cold reception at court, he retired to one of his estates, being the fifth Marshal of France whom Marlborough's success had driven from the service.

The difficulties however of the allies were not ended by the conquest of Lisle. They had lost between 18,000 and 20,000 men before the place, and they were compelled either to repass the Scheld, or to distribute the troops in the small space of country comprehended between Lisle, Menin and Courtray. To pass a river, whose banks were occupied by an enemy superior in number, and lined with strong entrenchments, was a dangerous undertaking; and, by not doing it, Flanders, Brabant, Guelderland, even some of the United Provinces, would have been exposed to the ravages of the French. The Duke of Marlborough, who ever treated fortune as if she had stipulated to favour his designs, attempted, without hesitation, to pass the Scheld, and he did it without drawing a sword.

The raising the siege of Brussels, which the Elector of Bavaria had invested, was the first consequence of this exploit. On the approach of the allies he precipitately decamped, leaving all his cannon, ammunition, and wounded.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were both of opinion, that, though it was very late in the season, yet the campaign should not be finished till Ghent and Bruges were re-taken. On the 16th of December a council of war was held, in which it was resolved that the Duke of Marlborough should command the siege of Ghent, and Prince Eugene the army intended to cover it. The place was accordingly fully invested on the 18th, and all things put in order for carrying on the siege with vigour.

The Count de la Motte, so well known from his attempt at Wynendale, commanded in the place, and had a garrison of thirty battalions and nineteen squadrons, which numerous body of troops would have exceedingly incommoded the Dutch, if the enemy had continued in possession of the place during the winter. The French court could hardly be persuaded, that, after so fatiguing a siege as that of Lisle, the allies would think of such an enterprize as seizing Ghent; but, on receiving repeated advice that the Duke of Marlborough had declared that he would not return to England till he had seen both it and Bruges reduced, M. de Chamillard wrote a letter to the Count de la Motte, which was intercepted: it was dated Versailles, December the 17th, 1708; and therein the minister, whose creature the Count de la Motte was, thought fit to express himself in the following terms: "Notwithstanding the place in itself is not strong, yet it cannot be attacked but by difficult and narrow places. You have a great number of troops, which are more than sufficient to defend a covered-way, and sell dear to the allies the conquest of that place. If they persist in the design to make themselves masters thereof, I cannot forbear to tell you that to a great deal of courage and good inclination it is necessary to add a great calmness and sedateness of mind, and patience, in order to make use of all the difficulties which may disturb the enemy and retard the siege. Do not take upon
yourself

yourself alone all the motions which are to be made ; for there are several officers that are capable to advise and assist you. You know how much I interest myself in every thing wherein you are personally concerned ; though reasons of state oblige me to explain my thoughts to you on such things, which, in my opinion, may most contribute to a long defence : I think however myself obliged to tell you, as relating to you alone, that after having the misfortune to command in Ostend, which the enemy reduced in a very few days, and of having not succeeded in the fight of Wynendale, it is of the highest concern to yourself as well as to his majesty, that the opportunity you have now may give him so good an opinion of you as may obtain from his majesty those marks of distinction for which you have so long laboured. If you are besieged, you must use all possible means to protract the siege, insomuch that it may cost the allies very dear, and dispute the ground inch by inch, as the Marshal de Boufflers had done at Lisle. I know the difference betwixt the fortifications of Lisle and those of Ghent ; but there is in the latter a good covered-way which is equally good every where ; and after six weeks time the enemy were not entirely masters of that of Lisle, though the garrison of the place was not so strong as yours. I tell you nothing as to the preservation of the troops : you have, in my opinion, a long time before you ought to think of their preservation, and I have reason to believe that they will serve with much distinction and affection under your command."

Though this letter was never received, yet M. de Motte did not require any extraordinary capacity to conceive of what prodigious consequence it was to France that Ghent was preserved, or at least that it was held out to the last. The place was in excellent condition ; the troops under his command were an army rather than a garrison, and the season so advanced that he had no reason to doubt, if he made a resolute

defence, the allies would be constrained to raise the siege. We shall see how well he answered the expectation of the French court, and of his patron M. Chamillard in particular; or rather we shall see with what consistency the same great genius displayed itself in the holding out of Ghent, which had shone with such lustre in the business of Wynendale. The allies formed three attacks: General Lottum with thirty-six battalions and thirty squadrons took post behind the Upper Schelde and the Lys for the first; the Prince of Hesse Cassel, with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, formed the second between the canal of Bruges and that of the Sas Van Ghent, as the Duke of Wirtemberg did the third with sixteen battalions and twenty-five squadrons, between the canal last mentioned and the Lower Schelde; the rest of the ground between the Higher and the Lower Schelde was filled up by the Count Tilly, with thirty battalions and as many squadrons. The Duke of Marlborough, to make as short work as possible, ordered a train of 150 cannon and mortars to be brought down the canals, threatening the town with immediate desolation, for their having, as he suspected, suffered the French to surprise it. On the 24th of December, the ground was broken before the city, at the attack formed by General Lottum in a moon-light night, and in the sight of the enemy. M. de la Motte caused the alarm to be given, drew his troops together with great intrepidity, but before they could be brought into order the allies had so well covered themselves that M. la Motte thought fit to let his forces disperse themselves to prevent the wasting of powder. The 25th the trenches were opened with the same success before the citadel, at the Duke of Wirtemberg's attack. The same evening the trenches were opened before the Brussels gate, under the protection of a detachment commanded by Brigadier Evans. The next morning an officer of M. de la Motte's garrison, of a different disposition from his commander, sallied with ten companies

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panies of grenadiers, and attacked the English troops with such vigour, that he put them into great confusion, and when he was obliged to retire carried off Brigadier Evans and Lieutenant-colonel Groves prisoners. On the 29th about noon, M. de la Motte desired leave to capitulate, though the court of France, in expectation of his holding out, had sent the Marshal de Boufflers to re-assemble an army in Flanders, but it was the count's misfortune never so much as to answer even his enemy's expectations; and therefore, to prevent any mischief happening between the Duke of Marlborough and the Marshal de Boufflers, he fairly gave up the place on the last day of the year, on very honourable terms.

On the 3d of January the duke went into the city publicly, receiving the keys of the town in a gilt basin, which he returned to the magistrates. The same day advice arrived that the enemy had abandoned Bruges, Placendahl, and Lessingen, and retired with their forces into their own dominions. On the 4th the duke set out for Brussels, where Prince Eugene had arrived the day before; and, winter quarters being settled, the duke went from thence to the Hague. Thus ended the campaign on this side.

The miscarriage last year before Toulon (see p. 158,) did not discourage the gallant Victor Amadæus, or hinder him from meditating a new irruption into France, in return for the siege of Turin. The preparations made by his royal highness's command through Piedmont during the winter and the spring, his assembling so great a body of troops on his frontiers, and preparing not only a train of field-pieces, but a quantity also of heavy cannon, gave the French to apprehend not an incursion only, but a siege of some important place. That his most christian majesty was under apprehensions of what the duke might effect, is clear from his recalling M. Villars from the Rhine, and sending him hither, but that he had no greater
army

army than 15,000 men under his command, as the writer of his memoirs says, is a falsity; for M. Quincy, who had better opportunities of knowing, owns that the marshal had seventy-four battalions and twenty squadrons, which were dispersed indeed in different quarters, as occasion required. The Duke of Savoy had a very considerable body of troops, viz. eighteen battalions of Piedmontese, and twenty-four of German troops, twenty-four squadrons of Piedmontese horse and dragoons, and about forty squadrons of German horse and dragoons, in all about 25,000 foot, and 9000 horse. The German troops were commanded by Count Daun, who was subordinate however to his royal highness. He forced the passages which he found guarded, and frequently deceived the French so effectually as to pass through very difficult defiles without meeting with any opposition. Fenestrelles was taken in sight, and in spite of all the efforts M. Villars could make to save it. As for General Daun, he had orders to go with his forces into the duchy of Ferrara, and to live there at discretion, in order to punish the inhabitants for having taken up arms for their sovereign the pope, against his Imperial majesty. Let us now turn our eyes to Spain, which was truly a field of blood this year, and in which the allies were very unsuccessful.

Count Guido Staremberg arrived at Barcelona on the last of April, the supplies demanded by King Charles being arrived before; that general instantly reviewed them, visited all the strong places in Catalonia; and, leaving in Terragona 500 men, and in Barcelona as many, drew out all the rest of his garrison to increase his army, which by that means swelled to 11,000 foot and 5000 horse, besides four regiments of miquelets. Great hopes were conceived from the opinion all the world had entertained of the military capacity of this new general. The army of the two crowns was commanded this year, as it had been the year before,

fore, by the Duke of Orleans, who had under him the Count of Bezons; it consisted of thirty-six battalions and fifty-five squadrons.

It would be to no purpose to fatigue the reader with a particular account of the marches and counter-marches which happened at the beginning of this campaign. On the 12th of June the Duke of Orleans with his army invested Tortosa. This place was fortified, before it fell into the hands of King Charles, with good ramparts flanked with towers, some bastions, and very good ditches; it was covered by a castle built on a little hill in tolerable condition, with a good horn-work before it, which last addition to its strength was owing to the care of King Charles, whose engineers had strengthened the covered-way and erected some advanced works. Near the Ebro stood a convent of Carmelites, which was well fortified also, it being concluded after Lerida was taken, that this would be the next place besieged by the forces of King Philip. Its garrison was composed of eight battalions, three Dutch, three German, one English, and one of French refugees, besides two battalions of miquelets and 300 horse. On the 21st the trenches were opened before the convent of Carmelites, with some loss, but the Duke of Orleans was present, and remained upon the spot till midnight. The ground was very rocky, which constrained the besiegers to make but slow work; and his royal highness, conceiving that the work would be still carried on more slowly if it were not well looked after, caused a tent to be pitched at the end of the trenches, and came thither every morning to give orders and to transact all the business of the day. He likewise went from time to time to each of the batteries, spoke apart to each of the cannoneers, commended them, gave them money, asked their advice, and made them all believe they were his privy counsellors. The garrison made a very gallant defence, and incommoded the besiegers very much, killing a great number of

of men in the works. In the night between the first and second of July several officers of distinction were wounded in the trenches; the governor sent in the morning a drum to desire of the commanding officer on duty a small quantity of snow for some ladies that were ill in the town. As soon as the Duke of Orleans was informed of it, he not only gave orders for sending immediately three vessels of it, but also directed that the same quantity should be sent every day, which occasioned half an hour's cessation of arms each time it was carried. When it was practicable to make an assault, his royal highness took all imaginable care that the necessary preparations should be made on that account, so that in the night between the 9th and 10th of August the covered-way was attacked by the grenadiers of those battalions which were in the trenches sustained by several battalions. Never was any attack more terrible: the besieged knowing the weakness of the place were apprehensive that it would be taken by assault; they caused therefore the tocsin to be rung, and obliged not only the inhabitants of the town but the very monks to take arms; every body put out torches at their windows, that they might have a clearer view of the action, which lasted an hour and half with much bloodshed, and a prodigious fire on both sides. It ceased at last for a quarter of an hour on the side of the besieged, but that was only that they might have time to make a sally, which was performed with the utmost vigour, and was supported by a most terrible fire from the place, accompanied with stones, bombs, and grenades; notwithstanding all which the besieged were repulsed with very great loss, and the besiegers remained in possession of the lodgments they had made, though at the expence of many brave officers' lives, and with the loss of about 200 private men. The fire on both sides continued all night, but about seven in the morning the governor caused a chamade to be beat, and sent out hostages: an honourable capitulation

was granted, whereby the garrison was permitted to march out with their arms and baggage, six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and six covered waggons; but the governor capitulated also for the castle of Arnez, which had long served for a rendezvous for the miquelets, who plundered the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia. On the 15th the garrison marched out, and 1500 of them listed immediately in the French service, being for the most part Bavarians and Flemings. The Germans formed a project for surprising four troops of horse who were sent to escort the garrison; but the officer, having intelligence thereof, instead of going to bed, as he pretended to do, when he took his leave of the governor of Tortosa, caused his party to mount, and by riding hard all night arrived safe at the camp of the Duke of Orleans. The Germans say this attempt was made by a commander of the miquelets without order.

After the siege of Tortosa, the Duke of Orleans took all the necessary measures for penetrating farther into the country; but Count Staremberg was so vigilant, that it was impossible for him to gain any ground. The count had in his army the son of the Marquis das Minas, a young gentleman of great hopes; he understood the country perfectly well; and undertook with a very small body of dragoons, to watch his royal highness's motions, and give an exact account of them to General Staremberg, who in the mean time remained quietly in his camp of Cervera. The Duke of Orleans took great pains to draw him from thence, or to have an opportunity of falling upon his rear, but in both these schemes he was defeated. Count Staremberg remained in his post till all provisions were exhausted, and, when he found the country could furnish no more, he obliged 2000 peasants to take arms to defend the passages in his rear, and, by keeping their families in his hands, made them accountable for his

safe retreat, which finished the operations on this side for the summer.

In the mean time a very extraordinary accident happened in Barcelona on the arrival of the garrison of Tortosa; for, the people having been informed by some of King's Charles's ministry, that the French had been obliged to raise the siege, they were so irritated at finding themselves imposed on, that they ran in crowds to the palace, and fell upon all they met. King Charles thereupon went in person into a balcony, from whence he intreated the people to retire quietly to their houses; but, while he was speaking, by some means or other a piece was fired, which killed a gentleman of his retinue in the balcony, and thirty or forty more were killed before the sedition could be appeased.

The Chevalier d'Asfeld,, after the reduction of Tortosa, marched back into the kingdom of Valencia, where he had orders to reduce Denia and Alicant, that that kingdom might be entirely in the hands of King Philip. The first of these had a supply sent from the latter by sea; which entered the place the 5th of November. The Chevalier d'Asfeld not being able to invest it till the 6th, the trenches were opened before it on the 7th; and, the breach being practicable by the 12th, Monsieur d'Asfeld caused it to be attacked by a body of grenadiers, himself being at their head. They behaved so well that the upper and lower town were taken sword in hand, and all who were found armed were put to the sword. The governor, with the rest of the garrison, consisting of 800 men, retired into the castle. M. d'Asfeld, notwithstanding his being wounded in the attack, gave immediate orders for forcing the monastery of St. Laurence, a strong post, by favour of which the castle might be relieved from sea. Don Pedro Ronquillo, to whom this enterprize was entrusted, succeeded in it so well, that the place rendered to the besiegers in a few hours; and, within a few hours after it submitted, four vessels full of troops, ammunition,

ammunition, and provisions, appeared off the port, but could not enter, which constrained the governor on the 17th to beat the chamade, and to render himself and his garrison prisoners of war. This was a great loss to King Charles, for hitherto it had served for a resource at all times to such of the Valencians as inclined to quit the party of King Philip. Besides there were in the place a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions, and, which was of greater value, fifty pieces of brass cannon and several large mortars; a body of miquelets, consisting of about 300 men, being extremely apprehensive of ill treatment, in case they fell into the hands of King Philip's forces, endeavoured to force their way through, but they were so unlucky as to fall directly on the quarters of the Spanish horse, by whom only a very few were made prisoners, and the rest put to the sword without mercy. The Chevalier d'Asfeld received very high commendations, on account as well of his conduct as of his success. As for the siege of Alicant, it was impracticable, considering the advanced season and the condition of the troops; M. d'Asfeld therefore caused it to be blockaded in the beginning of December, conceiving that nothing more could be done at that time, but afterwards he thought proper to attack the town, which he did with such effect, that Colonel Richards who commanded in it was obliged to capitulate, in order to save three regiments, for which he found there would be no room in the castle. The Chevalier d'Asfeld granted them very honourable conditions, whereby they were to be conducted safe into Catalonia; but General Stanhope having, in consequence of an order from London, caused a part of the garrison of Port Mahon to be detained, M. d'Asfeld sent a detachment of horse after the garrison of Alicant, and caused them also to be detained.

Count Staremberg having been persuaded by the Governor of Tortosa, that it was a very practicable

thing to retake that city before its breaches were repaired, and while the Duke of Orleans and his army were in quarters of refreshment; in order to effect this, a corps of troops were drawn together, at the head of which Count Staremborg, General Stanhope who commanded the English, and General Wefell who commanded the Dutch troops, put themselves, with the Count d'Effren, who had been governor of the place, and some other officers of distinction. Their march was so well concealed that they arrived about three in the morning of the 2d of December, within half an hour's march of the city. It was then resolved to make two attacks, for which they had all the necessary instructions from their correspondents in the place, so that the English, who attacked the posts on the Upper Ebro, entered the covered-way almost without opposition, two advanced guards, one of thirty the other of fifty men, being cut to pieces in a moment. The troops at the other attack had also great success at the first; but, when the French and Spanish troops recovered their surprise, they defended themselves with prodigious resolution. M. de Belancour, who commanded in the suburbs which was first taken, made a very desperate defence, but he being killed the troops he commanded retired into the place, from whence after a short time continual sallies were made; insomuch that when the sun rose the allies were forced to retire, after a most obstinate and bloody engagement, wherein there were near 800 killed on both sides upon the spot. After the retreat of the allies, their correspondents were discovered, who were, without any ceremony, broke on the wheel and exposed on the walls, their houses rased, their effects sold, and the money distributed among the garrison. The absence of the Duke of Orleans, who set out a little before for France, was the chief motive to this attempt; for while he was with the army he had such exact intelligence, that nothing could be done or thought on without his knowledge.

ledge. He was received with great applause at Madrid in the latter end of November, but he did not continue long there, the King of France having positively desired that he might return as soon as possible to Paris.

In Estramadura there passed this year no great matter; the Marquis de Fonteira commanded the troops of Portugal, and the army of Spain was commanded by the M. de Bay. He caused the castle of Altura to be invested pretty early, complaint being made to him that the garrison had done a great deal of mischief; it was carried by assault, and all who were therein put to the sword. The Duke d'Osuna, who commanded in Andalusia, kept the Portuguese on that side from attempting any thing, which, without doing them much injury, we may affirm they were not sorry for, experience having taught them, that, if subsidies were exactly paid, it was no great matter how the war went on. His Portuguese majesty however distinguished himself from all his predecessors, by the care he took of military affairs; for he gave orders that his regiments, as well horse as foot, should be put under an exact regulation. The former were reduced to eleven, those of horse consisting of 480 effective men; those of dragoons of 600. His infantry consisted of thirty battalions of 700 men each, regularly paid every month. One thing fell out on this side very remarkable, the Portuguese and Spanish general officers and governors observing that great cruelties were committed under colour of the war, that on the taking small garrisons, the men were generally put to the sword, and that the frontiers of both kingdoms were in a manner ruined, came to a resolution among themselves, which put an effectual end to all these evils; it was this. The soldiers on both sides were forbid to plunder, not only their friends but their enemies; and, if they contravened these orders, they were punished by their own officers. Labourers and peasants were ordered to resume

resume their employments on the public faith of both nations, all surprises and inroads were laid aside by mutual consent, and the war was for the future conducted according to the strictest rules of honour, and without danger to any who were not actually in arms. Let us now pass to the naval expeditions of this year.

Great discontents still subsisted, particularly in Scotland, on the score of the union; and the court of France made use of these commotions to introduce the excluded family into Scotland. The appellation which the French gave to the reputed son of King James, was, the Chevalier de St. George, whilst Queen Anne soon after distinguished him by the name of the Pretender. A squadron of small men of war, consisting of five ships equipped for action, and two fitted for transports, was prepared at Dunkirk, while eleven or twelve battalions were ordered to assemble there from the garrisons of Calais, St. Omers, Bergues, Aire, and Lisle. Count Forbin commanded the fleet, and the Marquis de Gace the troops intended for this expedition. The preparations were carried on with expedition and secrecy; and, when they first became publicly known, it was uncertain where the storm was to fall. Men could scarcely believe that an invasion of Great Britain was seriously meant by the enemy, without a fleet of capital ships, and therefore the States of the United Provinces began to be extremely apprehensive of a descent on the coast of Zealand.

The views of France, in forwarding this design, were to create a diversion, and, if possible, to raise a rebellion in Scotland, and thereby retard the more distant operations of the war. The first intelligence that was obtained of the real destination of the force assembled at Dunkirk, was by General Cadogan, who resided at the Hague in quality of ambassador at the court of Great Britain: the pretended Prince of Wales arriving soon after at Dunkirk, confirmed the information. The queen, by Mr. Secretary Boyle, who had

had succeeded Harley, acquainted the house of commons with this event, on the 4th of March. Both houses of parliament hereupon presented very loyal addresses to the throne, and the habeas-corpus act was suspended. The preparations of the ministry kept pace with the zeal of parliament. Sir George Byng and Lord Dursley, with a fleet of twenty-three British and three Dutch men-of-war, together with a fire-ship, had stretched over from Deal to Dunkirk, on the 27th of February, whilst a sufficient convoy was retained for the Lisbon fleet. Ten battalions of English troops were ordered from Flanders; the forces in England were every where in motion; and the regiments stationed in the south of Ireland were marched towards the north, for the convenience of a short passage to Scotland.

The English fleet anchored before Gravelines; but, being driven from their station by a storm, Forbin found means to slip out of Dunkirk, and stretched away for the frith of Edinburgh, Sir George Byng pursuing him with all his force. On the 12th the French made the coast of Scotland; but, either through the ignorance of their pilots, or the design of Count Forbin, they found themselves to the north of their destination. The Salisbury, an English prize, then in their service, with several persons of great quality on-board, was taken; the rest, having suffered much hardship at sea, and lost many of their men by sickness, flunk, ship by ship, into Dunkirk. The capture of the Salisbury was a very considerable acquisition, considering the number of persons taken on-board her; for besides Lord Griffin, Lord Clermont, Charles Middleton. and Francis Wauchope, Esquires, who had all followed the fortune of King James; there were likewise several land and sea officers, in the French service, of very great distinction, five companies of the regiment of Bearn, and all the ships company consisting of 300 men. The Chevalier de St. George is said to have en-
treated

treated the French admiral, when they came within sight of the Scottish coast, to put him on-shore, being resolved, he said, to remain in Scotland, should no one follow him but his own domestics. Forbin, having long argued in vain on the impropriety of that step, positively refused, at last, to comply with his request. The French say that Forbin was from the beginning against this expedition; that he told the French king he would answer for landing his troops, but that he would not be accountable for the fleet; that on the appearance of the English fleet he called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to return to Dunkirk, which resolution was put in execution with very little loss, all things considered. There are some who pretend to be acquainted with this business from other hands, and who affirm that the whole of the affair was managed with very little regard to him for whose sake it was pretended to be undertaken; that he was made merely the instrument of the court of France, followed its instructions blindly, and that scarcely appearances were preserved towards him on his return, when he had no private audience of the French king; so that he appeared not to be in the secret, which some then imagined, was to damp public credit in Britain, and to distract the designs of the allies. If this be true, not only the chevalier but all his adherents, especially those old lords who had attended King James in his exile, were certainly ill used. And, if Lords Griffin and Clermont, Mr. Middleton, Colonel Wauchop, and other persons of distinction, who were taken in the Salisbury, escaped death, it was entirely owing to the mercy of their enemies, and not at all to the faith of their pretended friends. It is generally thought that this unhappy expedition opened the eyes of the Jacobites, and taught them to beware of trusting to foreign assistance against their country.

The naval strength of the maritime powers was, as usual, intended to be exerted on the eastern coasts of Spain.

Spain. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was early at sea, and in his passage to Lisbon effectually protected all the outward-bound merchantmen that sailed from the channel. He arrived in the Tagus on the 27th of March, where he found the squadron which Commodore Hickee had brought from Tuscany, on the death of Admiral Dilkes. At a council of war it was resolved, that the fleet and transports should proceed to Vado, in the gulph of Genoa. Three men-of-war were ordered to cruise off the Azores, to protect the Brazil fleet on its return to Portugal. Other men-of-war were appointed to cruise in the Strait's mouth, to guard the English and Dutch trade; the number of which ships was augmented, upon advice being received from Colonel Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, that some French ships of war had been seen in those parts. The transport ships having received on-board 1500 horse, the fleet sailed on the 28th of April. On the 11th of May, being about twelve leagues from Alicant, several vessels appeared in sight of the fleet: the next day a French frigate of 24 guns was taken, by which the admiral learnt, that the ships in sight were three French men-of-war, one of 44, one of 40, and another of 32, guns, together with 90 settees and tartans, laden with wheat, barley, and oil, for the use of the army under the Duke of Orleans, and bound for Peniscola, between the mouth of the Ebro and the city of Valencia. [A settee is a ship of two masts, equipped with triangular sails, commonly called lateen sails; these vessels are peculiar to the Mediterranean sea, and are generally navigated by Italians, Greeks, or Mahometans.---A tartan is a small coasting vessel, navigated in the Mediterranean Sea, having only one mast and a bowsprit, the principal sail, which is extremely large, being extended by a lateen yard.] The British frigates immediately bore down on the French men of-war, which abandoned their convoy, sought their safety by flight; and, night coming on, they found means to

elude their pursuers. The division of the fleet under the command of the vice-admiral of the white, being nearest in shore, their long-boats were manned, and their small ships sent out to attack the barks, as they were plying along the coast, whereby the greater part was taken. By the intercepting this supply, the army in Valencia, which fought for Philip, was much distressed; and that of Charles, now pent up in the confines of Barcelona, greatly assisted.

Sir John Leake arrived with his fleet at Barcelona on the 15th of May, and, continuing there only a few days, proceeded to Vado, to take on-board the Princess Wolfenbuttle, whom Charles III. had espoused. He waited on the Queen of Spain at Milan, and was received with every mark of respect. Her majesty embarked at Genoa, on the 2d of July, on-board the fleet, which conveyed her to Barcelona. The admiral then set about executing the important objects of the war, the first of which was the reduction of Sardinia. He appeared before Cagliari, the capital of the island, on the 1st of August. The Marquis of Jamaica, who commanded there for King Philip, being summoned to surrender, declared his resolution of holding out to the last extremity. The ships thereupon began to bombard the place that night, and the next morning 1800 soldiers, under the command of Major-general Wills, were landed, in order to storm it; but the governor, dreading the consequences of these vigorous advances, capitulated. The whole island immediately submitted without drawing a sword; for, as soon as the English fleet had come in sight, the monks, gained by Cardinal Grimani, ran in bodies through the streets, holding crucifixes in their hands, and declaring to the people who flocked round them, that God had made use of heretics to give them a better master. The reduction of this island was of equal importance to the common cause, and to the private interest of Charles: to the first it rendered the navigation of the Mediter-

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anean secure; and it supplied the latter with corn and other provisions.

No sooner had Sir John Leake established the new viceroy, which he carried over, in the peaceable possession of the island, than he sailed to Minorca, and appeared before Port Mahon on the 25th of August. Here he was to be joined by Lieutenant-general Stanhope, with a body of troops from Majorca, which soon after arrived. The landing being effected, the greatest part of the fleet proceeded to England, leaving, with General Stanhope, all their marines above the middle complement. The squadron destined to remain in the Mediterranean was put under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker, and continued at Port Mahon to co-operate with the army; 2600 men were employed in the siege; the batteries were opened on the 28th of October, and two days after it surrendered. About fifty men were killed or wounded in the siege; among the former was Captain Stanhope, of the Milford, brother to the general, a young gentleman of eminent bravery. This island was in itself less considerable than Sardinia, but more valuable to the British nation, on account of the excellent harbour of Port Mahon. Sir John Leake arrived with the fleet at St. Helen's on the 19th of October.

In consequence of the remonstrances from King Charles, Sir Edward Whitaker, who was then at Leghorn, sent the *Defiance* and the *York*, with the *Terrible* bomb-vessel, to assist the viceroy of Naples in the reduction of some places on the coast of Tuscany; but the attempt miscarried through the dilatoriness of the Germans in providing the necessary supplies. These ships, however, overawed the Italian States, and particularly the pope, who had firmly adhered to the interests of Philip V. but was now forced to acknowledge Charles III. as lawful King of Spain.

Having now gone over the occurrences in the Mediterranean

diterranean during the year 1708, let us take a view of affairs nearer home.

In order to distract France, by dividing her attention, and spreading a general alarm, preparations were made to annoy the coast by a descent. Sir George Byng commanded the fleet appointed for this service, and Lord Dursley was vice-admiral; the land-forces were commanded by Lieutenant general Erle. On the 27th of July, the fleet, with the transports, having the troops on-board which were intended for the descent, sailed from Spithead, and came the next day to an anchor off Deal. The 29th they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm as to mislead the enemy, and to be ready for farther orders. The 1st of August the fleet sailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; on the 3d they stood in for the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy; on the 4th they weighed, but anchored again about noon in the bay of Estaples. Here a detachment of troops was landed; but, the project on-shore which this descent was to have countenanced being laid aside, an express brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. On the 7th they stood over again to the coast of England, and, being joined by more transports in Dover Road, arrived on the 11th in the bay of La Hogue; on the 12th they designed to have landed, but, upon viewing the coast, they found so many troops brought together to oppose a descent, and so many forts and batteries on-shore, that it was deemed impracticable. On the 14th the fleet set sail again for the westward; but, the wind coming about the next day, they altered their course, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no prospect of doing any thing there. The same day Lord Dursley, in the *Oxford*, with six other men-of-war, and marines, sailed to the westward, to cruise in the soundings. On the 17th the rest of the fleet returned to La Hogue; but,

but, the men growing sickly, and provisions falling short, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead on the 28th. After thus alarming the French coast, the Duke of Marlborough solicited, that the land-forces might be landed at Ostend, which was accordingly performed on the 23d of September, and at so critical a juncture, that their arrival decided the fortune of the contending powers, with respect to the object before them, by effecting the surrender of Lisle to the confederates.

Meanwhile the vigilance of Lord Dursley, in scouring the Channel, entirely drove away the French privateers and cruisers, which before had insolently braved us in our very ports, and done essential injury to our trade.

On the 27th of October, a court-martial was held on-board the Royal Anne, at Spithead; for the trials of Captain Richard Edwards, of the Cumberland; Captain John Balchen, of the Chester; and Captain Baron Wild, of the Royal Oak; the two first for losing their ships, and the last for breaking the line, disobeying orders, and neglect of duty. After a strict examination of witnesses, and free liberty given to the persons accused to make their defence, and to produce whatever testimonies were in their power, Captain Edwards was most honourably acquitted, and declared to have done his duty in every respect as captain and commodore; and Captain John Balchen was likewise acquitted; but Captain Baron Wild, who we have seen particularly unfortunate in the last year, (see p. 162 and 165.) being found guilty of neglect of duty, and disobeying orders, was not only cashiered, but declared incapable of ever serving in the royal navy.

Before we quit the transactions of the year 1708; it will be proper to relate what passed in the West Indies. Commodore Wager succeeded Sir John Jennings in his command there, and arrived at Jamaica in the summer of 1707. The trade in those parts, which had been greatly injured by the mercenary conduct of
Commodore

Commodore Ker when he commanded on that station, began again to flourish from the disinterested and vigilant conduct of Wager, who readily granted convoys for the service of the merchants, and likewise by protecting the English settlements, which services were gratefully acknowledged by the planters and merchants in their representations to the board of admiralty.--- No sooner had the commodore taken the proper measures for the service of his friends, than he directed his attention to consider how he might best annoy the enemy. The galleons, fraught with the treasures of the western hemisphere, had not ventured to Europe for some years, and were now on the point of sailing. Their immense wealth, which was computed to amount to 48,000,000, was necessary to replenish the exhausted treasuries of the Bourbon monarchs, whose expedients for substituting mint-bills in the room of specie, had reduced the credit of government to a state of contempt. The force which the commodore commanded, consisted of the Windsor, Expedition, Severn, Kingston, Assistance, Portland, and Dunkirk's prize. In the beginning of the year 1708, by letters found on-board a sloop taken between Porto Bello and Carthagena, it appeared, that Monsieur du Casse was arrived at Martinico from Europe, with ten ships of war, eight of which mounted from 70 to 86 guns, together with several large privateers; this account was soon afterwards confirmed by Colonel Parkes, who presided at the Leeward Islands. Wager was sensible, that the only opportunity which presented itself for him to attack the galleons, with any prospect of success, was before they had joined the French fleet. He had certain information that they were to sail from Porto Bello to Carthagena, and from thence to the Havannah. Whilst he was cruising as near to the former harbour as he could venture without alarming the Spaniards, having with him the Expedition, Kingston, Portland, and Vulture fireship, on the 28th of May, at noon, seventeen

seventeen sail of galleons were discovered from the top-mast-head. The Spaniards, on perceiving the English squadron, endeavoured to gain the Baru, a small island which lay in their way to Carthagena, but not being able to accomplish that, and rendered bold by the inconsiderable force that was opposed to them, drew up in a line of battle, all the time bearing to the northward. The Spanish admiral carried a white pendant at the top-mast-head in the centre; the vice-admiral, with the same kind of pendant at the fore-top-mast-head in the rear; and the rear-admiral bore his pendant on the mizen-top-mast-head in the van: they were distant from each other about half a mile, which space was occupied by other ships. Of the seventeen sail, two were sloops and one a brigantine; two others were French ships, which set all their sails and got off. Commodore Wager in the Expedition, bore down on the Spanish admiral, and directed Captain Bridges of the Kingston to engage the vice-admiral, and Captain Windsor of the Portland to attack the rear-admiral. As the fireship could not be rendered serviceable, she was ordered to ply to the windward.

About sun-set, the engagement began between the two commanders in chief, and continued for an hour and an half, when, it being dark, the Spanish admiral's ship blew up, not without great danger to the Expedition, from the flaming splinters and planks which fell on-board her, and the great heat of the blast. Hereupon, the commodore put abroad his signal lights for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue fight of some of the enemies ships; but, finding after this accident they began to separate, and discovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made sail after her, and, coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he fired a broadside, which happened to reach her stern, and did such execution, that she appeared to be disabled from making sail; being then to the leeward,

leeward, he, tacking on the Spaniard, got to the windward of him, and the Kingston and Portland, (which had, by reason of the darkness of the night, or the blowing up of the admiral which made it very thick thereabouts, lost sight of the other ships,) following his lights soon after, came up with him, and assisted in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On-board of this ship he sent his boats to bring to him the chief officers, and, before the rising of the sun, he saw one large ship on the weather-bow, and three sail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off ours, lying then with their heads to the north, the winding being at N. E. an easy gale. Then he put out the signal for the Kingston and Portland to chase to windward, not being able himself to make sail, being much disabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, so were there no less than 300 prisoners on-board his own ship.

The next day, being Sunday the 30th, the wind blowing gently from the N. E. to N. N. W. the Kingston and Portland had left off chasing; but he made the signal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of sight, the fireship still continuing with him; and he, having lain by sometime, not only to put the prize in a condition of sailing, but to refit his own rigging, made sail eastward on the 31st, when the Kingston and Portland joined him, and gave him an account, that the ship they chased was the vice-admiral; to which, as they said, they came so near as to fire their broadsides into her; but were so far advanced towards the Salmadinas, a shoal off of Carthagená, that they were forced to tack and leave her. Thus escaped that very rich carrack, to the great disappointment of the officers and crews of the English ships, who inveighed bitterly against their captains. Meanwhile the commodore sent them orders to attack a galleon of 40 guns, which he understood, by a Swedish ship that had been trading at Baru, had taken shelter in that island.

island. She was just coming out of port as the Kingston and Portland appeared; upon which, her crew ran her ashore, set her on fire, and blew her up, so that nothing could be saved of her valuable cargo. On the 2d of June, the commodore, finding his provisions and water short, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in those parts, resolved to set the Spanish prisoners ashore with a flag of truce, in compliance with their earnest entreaty, on the island of Baru, and then proceed for Jamaica; which he performed accordingly. The Expedition had two men killed and nine wounded in the action. According to the account given to the commodore by these prisoners, of the strength and value of the Squadron, the admiral's ship was called the St. Joseph, carried 64 guns, and had 600 men, of whom seventeen only were saved, and had on-board about 7,000,000 in gold and silver; the vice-admiral mounted 64 guns, and had between 400 and 500 men, with about 6,000,000; the rear-admiral mounted 44 guns, but carried eleven more in her hold, and had only thirteen chests of pieces of eight, and fourteen sows of silver. We shall take this opportunity of adding a succinct account of a gallant exploit performed by an English officer a little before the taking the galleons. Captain Coleby, commander of a privateer-sloop of about 100 men, meeting with fourteen sail of brigantines, and sloops, laden with valuable goods, going from the galleons at Porto-Bello, to Panama, under convoy of a guard-sloop, bravely fought the guard-sloop, and took her, and six more. The Spaniards offered the captain 180,000 pieces of eight for the ransom of the sloop, which he refused.

As soon as the commodore reached Jamaica with his prize, he dispatched a vessel to England, with advice of the galleons being on their voyage to Spain; and on the 23d of July he held a court-martial at Port Royal on the two captains, who were accused of ne-

glecting to do their utmost to take or destroy the Spanish vice-admiral's ship. No object could be more stimulating than the capture of so valuable a prize; neither was it an enterprize of such hazard as to require any uncommon share of courage to perform it. The captain of the Kingston was accused of not suffering the ship to be piloted into a shoal called Salmadinas, when he was within gun-shot of the galleon. The reason which the captain assigned for this caution was, that he doubted the pilot's abilities to execute what he was ready to undertake, and thought it desperately staking the safety of his ship; no want of personal courage was imputed to him. A similar charge was exhibited against Captain Windfor of the Portland; of which they were both found guilty, and deprived of their commissions.

Not long after this event happened, the English frigate called Dunkirk's Prize, Captain Purvis, cruising to the northward of Hispaniola, chased a French ship, and ran her on shore near Cape François, when, in following her, the pilot being unskilful, she struck upon a ledge of rocks and bulged. Indeed the bravery of the captain and part of the crew retrieved this misfortune; for, getting upon a small island within shot of the French ship, which all the while fired briskly upon them, they got together the ship's boats and a canoe, and were preparing to board her, when the Frenchman surrendered, on condition that her commander and men should be put ashore. In this ship the brave Captain Purvis arrived in Jamaica, with all his company, except twenty-one, who had refused to join in the attempt. But to return to Commodore Wager.

A few days after the court-martial broke up, Commodore Edwards arrived at Jamaica with the Monmouth, a third-rate; the Jersey, a fourth; and the Roebuck, a fifth-rate. He brought a commission from the admiralty, appointing Wager a rear-admiral of the blue,

blue, which perferment preceded this his bold attack of the galleons. Orders came herewith for the rear-admiral to send home four of his ships, which accordingly sailed the latter end of September, and Admiral Wager hoisted his flag on-board the Monmouth.

But the joy which the queen derived from the great success of her arms, was damped by the death of her husband, the Prince of Denmark, on the 28th of October, 1708, at Kensington, of an asthma, with which he had been long afflicted. He was born in 1653, and married the princess, afterwards Queen Anne, on the 28th of July, 1683. He was interred with great funeral pomp in Westminster-abbey. The queen, during the twenty-five years of their marriage, was eminent for her conjugal affection, and testified uncommon tenderness and assiduity during the tedious illness with which the prince was afflicted. His royal highness had shewn himself brave in war, both in Denmark and Ireland: his temper was mild and gentle: he had made a good progress in mathematics: he had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than he could well express; for he spoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully. The queen kept the admiralty in her own hands about three weeks, and then appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke lord high admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, to the dissatisfaction of those who wished to see the Earl of Oxford fill that station.

The great success of the campaign, confirmed the influence which Marlborough and Godolphin had acquired, by the expulsion of Harley from the cabinet. They found means at the same time to reconcile the Whigs to their measures, by dividing among their leaders the power and emoluments of government. The weight of the crown being thrown into the scale of that party, they carried most of the contested elections in the house of commons against the Tories, and secured a majority. The new parliament met on the 18th

of November; they chose Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. for their speaker. The sessions was opened by commission; the lord chancellor, in a speech from the throne, recommended a provision for the navy, and especially for the building of new ships, and fortifying our ports. On the 6th of December, the house of commons addressed for an account of the number of men that might be wanting to man her majesty's navy for the year 1709; which was promised, and, upon its being laid before the house, they agreed to it immediately, and voted the same number of men, with the same allowance, and the same sum for the ordinary use of the navy, as had been given the year before; but soon after, the commons thought fit to appoint a committee to enquire into the number of ships employed as cruizers and convoys; as also to discover the true reasons of the great increase of the navy-debt; and on their report, they came to a resolution on the 24th of March, 1709, that an address be presented to her majesty, to desire that she would be pleased to give directions to the proper officers, to lay before the house an account of all sums of money granted, or voted, since her majesty's accession to the crown, and how far the same had proved deficient. At the same time, they ordered the commissioners of the navy to lay before them the causes of the increase of the debt of the navy: but, to this address, her majesty gave no answer; so that the affair dropped for that time. This conduct of the court gave much offence; yet the commons were so hearty in the prosecution of the war, that they voted 6,457,830*l.* for the service of the year 1709. They next granted the sum of 103,203*l.* for the relief of the inhabitants of St. Nevis, and St. Christopher's, and passed a vote in favour of the trade to Africa. Both houses joined in an address, that her majesty would be pleased not to conclude any peace with the French king, unless he consented to demolish the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk.

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In order to raise these great supplies, the assistance of the Bank of England was found necessary. An act of parliament therefore passed, for enlarging the capital stock of the Bank of England, by which the governor and company were empowered to double their stock, and to sell their additional stock, amounting to 2,001,171*l.* 10*s.* at the rate of 115*l.* for every hundred subscribed. This sum was fully subscribed for in four hours, on the first day of opening the subscription. A clear proof that a seven-years extensive and draining war, had not exhausted the nation of its wealth.

Whilst the British legislature were adopting measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war, the French king renewed his overtures for restoring tranquillity to Europe. The rout at Oudenarde, the taking of Lisle, a famine in his kingdom, the consequent deficiency in the revenue, the general discontents of the people, and the contests between his servants, forced Louis XIV. to offer terms of peace, at once suitable to the melancholy situation of his own affairs, and proportionable to the success of the allies. At length Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, who had managed the war with such astonishing success, were fully empowered by the Emperor and the Queen of Great Britain, in conjunction with the republic of Holland, to treat with the ministers of France, and to settle the terms of peace. They arrived for that purpose at the Hague in the beginning of the month of April. These two generals, and Heinsius the pensionary of Holland, formed a triumvirate, on whom the grand confederacy, and consequently the fate of Europe, depended. To these, however, what was said of a great man in familiar circumstances in our own times, might be applied, "that they who had been the means of spreading the flame were the most unfit persons to be employed in putting out the fire." The two generals having gained so many battles, and succeeded

ceeded in all their arduous and important undertakings, had acquired the confidence of the allies in proportion as they had excited terror in the enemy. Heinsius had been the depository of King William's secrets; he had been raised by that prince to the place of first minister, and had the good fortune to have preserved the authority which he had received, by being the chain that united the States with the grand confederacy formed by his late patron against the house of Bourbon. Each of the three negotiators seemed to have had a personal interest in opposing the peace. The Duke of Marlborough was influenced thereto by the hope of gathering fresh laurels, as well as from the meaner motive of acquiring wealth: Prince Eugene, being a soldier of fortune, had nothing to do with tranquillity, as generals are then laid aside to rust with their swords. Still, however, they durst not openly avow their disinclination to peace. Prince Eugene insisted, that the entire cession of the Spanish monarchy should be an indispensable preliminary to the treaty; Marlborough at the same time took care to circulate a suspicion that the court of Versailles was not sincere in her professions, and only aimed at amusing and deceiving the allies. The well-known propensity of that court to chicanery and subterfuge, procured a ready credence to such an opinion, notwithstanding the miseries which had overspread that kingdom were the fullest attestations of her extorted sincerity. Despair was diffused through the nation; every quarter of Europe beheld the disgraces and downfall of France. The confederates, by being in possession of Lisle, threatened to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. The same king, who had brought the republic of Holland to the brink of destruction in a single campaign, and who but a few years before had carried his arms to the banks of the Danube, the Po, and the Tagus, now trembled for the safety of his capital. The name of Marlborough became as dreadful to the Parisians, as our Edwards and Henrys

Henrys had been to their forefathers. In this state of affairs the Marquis de Torci was sent to Holland, with powers to put an end, upon the most humiliating terms, to a war, that even threatened the destruction of the French monarchy; and Rouille, the former minister, was recalled. France agreed to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria without any equivalent. To cede her conquests on the empire, and upon the Upper Rhine: to give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lille, Condé, and Maubeuge, for a barrier to Holland. To acknowledge the Elector of Brandenburg as King of Prussia; the Duke of Hanover as ninth elector of the empire: to own the title of Queen Anne to the British throne; to remove the pretender from the dominions of France: to recognise the succession of the throne of Great Britain in the protestant line: to restore every thing to the Duke of Savoy: and to agree to the concessions made to the King of Portugal by his treaty with the allies. The demolition of Dunkirk was farther insisted on in the conferences at the Hague, with M. de Torci, for settling the preliminaries of a general peace; and, that minister shewing greater reluctance to consent to this, than to any other of the articles, alleging, that his master bought, and paid for this town and port, besides laying out immense sums upon it since,---it so provoked Prince Eugene, that he told the French ministers, with great warmth, he wondered they should spend so many words about it, and that they ought rather to admire the generosity of a princess, who, having it her power to prescribe them harder terms, and force them to deliver that, and what other places she pleased, and revive other pretensions of the crown of England, gave an unparalleled example of her moderation. This had such an effect, that the point was immediately given up. But even this did not satisfy the allies. One fruitless conference followed another. At length Heinſius framed forty preliminary articles, which

which were to form the basis of a general peace. The plenipotentiaries on the side of France agreed to thirty-five of them, the rest were submitted to the decision of Louis, for which purpose the Marquis de Torci repaired to Versailles. Ruined as the affairs of France were, that court had spirit enough to reject the proffered terms. In order to rouse the people from that torpor into which they had sunk, the court published an account of the negotiation, explaining their own concessions, and the haughty terms prescribed by the allies. The king himself wrote to all the governors of the provinces, stating the whole transaction, and feelingly rousing their indignation. The spirit of the French nation was rekindled, and their resentment added fresh fuel to the flames of war.

When the conferences at the Hague were ended, vigorous preparations were immediately made for prosecuting the war. On the 9th of June, 1709, the Duke of Marlborough left the Hague to take the command of the combined army in Flanders; Prince Eugene commanded under Marlborough. This army amounted 110,000 men; the army of France which was opposed to it, was commanded by Marshal Villars, and was somewhat less numerous. Towards the latter end of June the campaign opened. Villars occupied a strong post, by which he covered the cities of Douay and Arras, the reducing of which barriers would have opened for the allies a wide passage into the heart of France. To force the French general in his intrenchments was thought an enterprise of too great risk; Marlborough therefore by a hasty march sat down before Tournay. This is one of the strongest and most ancient cities in Flanders. It had been for time immemorial subject to France, till it fell into the hands of Henry VIII. King of England, in the year 1513. It was, however, restored five years after, through the intrigues of Cardinal Wolfey, under the notion of a dower with the Princess Mary, who was then an infant, but bethrothed to

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The Siege of Tournay.

Published July 20. 1799.

to the dauphin. It afterwards remained in the hands of the French for a century, when it was taken by the Spaniards in 1618. Louis XIV. made himself master of it in person in 1667; he laid out 1,000,000 in fortifying it, and its citadel was looked upon as the master piece of one of the first engineers in the world. The garrison consisted of eleven battalions, three squadrons of dragoons, three independent companies of 100 men each, 800 invalids, half a Swiss company, 100 miners, and two companies of grenadiers. It was well stored with powder and ammunition of all sorts, but scantily furnished with provisions and money. Lieutenant-general Surville commanded there, the same gentleman who distinguished himself at the siege of Lisle. As soon as he perceived the allies about to invest the town, he carried off all the corn which he could find in the adjacent villages; but the party he detached to bring in the cattle was intercepted. Villars made several attempts to throw in a supply, but they were all defeated, notwithstanding he opened the sluices, and overflowed all the country. The Earl of Orkney made himself master of the strong post of Mortagne without losing a man, notwithstanding that it was a place strong by situation, and had a garrison determined to defend it to the very last. There was no passage to attack it but a narrow causeway, in the middle of which was a draw-bridge, which the earl saw could not easily be reached by his field-pieces; however, he caused them to play for a considerable time to amuse the garrison, while, by the help of an old boat, he passed, at several times, a detachment of grenadiers over the morass, and, these advancing suddenly on the other side, the garrison intimidated immediately abandoned the place, crossed the Schelde over a bridge laid for that purpose, and left his lordship a post of very great consequence. The Prince of Orange had before taken St. Amand; this detachment returned to the camp the 1st of July;

on the 3d the posts were distributed, and directions given for carrying on the several attacks.

The trenches were opened in the night between the 7th and 8th of July, within half musket shot of the town, on the attack of General Lottum, without the loss of a man. On the side of General Schulembourg's attack, ground was broken within 200 paces of the counterscarp, wherein seven men were killed and twelve wounded. On the third attack commanded by General Fagel, they advanced within 250 paces of the palisade; but the Marquis de Surville made such a terrible fire on this side that there were no less than forty-five men killed and wounded. The Duke of Marlborough commanded in chief; the three generals before-mentioned acted only according to his orders.

It would be inconsistent with the brevity of this work to enter into an exact detail of the siege. Suffice it to observe, that it was carried on with the greatest vigour imaginable by the confederates, and that M. de Surville did more than was expected from him in its defence; though his garrison was but very small, he made frequent sallies, and sprung such a number of mines with such judgment and such success, that it cost the allies a great number of men; however, the presence of the Duke of Marlborough and the warmth with which he pressed forward whatever scheme he undertook, surmounted all difficulties; so that, by the latter end of the month M. de Surville found the town in a miserable condition, himself and his garrison much fatigued, little hopes of relief, and less means of subsistence. On the side of General Lottum's attack there was, through the fault of the engineer, some recess for two or three days. Brigadier Grumkau at last attacked the ravelin, and in spite of the terrible fire from the town, made a lodgment there; but, discovering the next morning that there was no communication between it and his attack, he resolved to complete

it in open day. With this view he gave an English soldier a pistole, and promised him a shilling for every gabion which he fixed from the lodgment along the palisades of the covered-way to the point of the saliant angle. The soldier undertook it, and placed fifty in two hours, which were filled with earth by 100 labourers: a prodigious instance of mercenary courage! On the 28th, Monsieur de Surville perceiving that the breaches in the body of the place, on the side of the attack of the Generals Lottum and Schulembourg, were large enough to be attacked, he caused a white flag to be hung out at all three attacks, and beat the chamade about seven in the evening. Hostages were immediately exchanged, and the articles were quickly adjusted. Leave was given to an officer to carry the articles of capitulation to the camp of Marshal Villars; he was likewise furnished with a passport for his return. The next day M. de Surville dined with Prince Eugene, and retired in the evening into the citadel, into which his garrison consisting of 3500 foot and 500 dismounted dragoons marched before. The loss of the allies, according to their printed computations, amounted to 3210 men killed and wounded; but, the French affirm that they lost at least 5000 men before the place; 800 of the French sick and wounded were conducted to Doway, according to the articles; and the Earl of Albemarle, at the head of twelve battalions, took possession of the town for the allies.

Hostilities were renewed on the 1st of August, and on the third one of the magazines in the citadel blew up. But Megrigny commander of the citadel had so undermined all the ground, and was so very vigilant in defence of the place, that the allies began to be of opinion this siege would cost them a prodigious number of men. On this account they listened readily to a proposal made by the besieged, to prevent the effusion of blood. M. de Ravignan was chosen by the garrison to confer with M. Lallo, a brigadier in the English

service, in high esteem with the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. M. de Ravignan observed, that by the army at present before the citadel, which consisted but of thirty battalions and twenty-five squadrons, it was not likely the siege would be over till the 5th of September; he therefore offered that 100 men from the confederate army should take post at a gate of the citadel during that space, and that the grand army should be at liberty to act as the generals should think fit; and, in case the place was not relieved before the said day, then it should be delivered, in the condition it was, into the hands of the allies. The Duke of Marlborough readily agreed to it, and M. de Ravignan was sent immediately with it to Versailles for the French king's ratification; but, on the 8th of August he returned with this answer, that, the king would not consent thereto, unless the grand army continued all that time in inaction; which proposition his grace the Duke of Marlborough rejected with contempt, and hostilities were immediately renewed, both parties being piqued by this agreement, the one to take the citadel before the 5th of September, and the other to preserve it as long as they could beyond that time.

The allies, that they might spare their men as much as possible, proceeded by sap, but not without many untoward accidents, owing chiefly to the skill of M. de Megrigny. On the 4th of August a bomb fell in one of the saps, which killed M. de Benenbourg, aid-major of the trenches, a serjeant, a corporal, and three private men. On the 13th the allies offered, by proclamation, a pistole a day to such volunteers as would enter the mines, where there happened continual skirmishes in the dark, in which the allies had mostly the better; Prince Eugene having had the precaution to send to the Duke of Savoy for 200 miners who had served in the siege of Turin. The same day the besiegers broke into two of M. de Megrigny's mines, immediately under one of their batteries of mortars. In

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one of these there was nothing but powder; in the other, besides four tuns of powder, there were twelve bombs ready filled. On the 15th M. de Surville made a sally, and drove the besiegers from a post they had taken; but, being repulsed, and 150 men taking possession of the lodgment, the enemy sprung a mine, blew them all into the air, and overturned all the gabions. In the night between the 16th and the 17th there happened a long and fierce combat in the mines, which ended at last in favour of the besiegers. On the 20th M. de Surville caused a wall to be blown up which hung over a sap, and thereby smothered a captain, a lieutenant, thirty soldiers, and five miners. On the 23d a mine was discovered which would have blown up a whole battalion of Hanoverian troops, but the same night the besieged sprung another which was beneath it, and did a great deal of mischief. In the night of the 24th the besieged made a sally unexpectedly, and with a strange design; they carried off forty-two horses, which as soon as they got within the citadel they killed and salted, being in extreme want of provisions. On the 26th an inhabitant of Tournay went to the Earl of Albemarle and offered to discover one of the principal mines of the citadel, on condition he would make him head gaoler of all the prisoners of Tournay; this was agreed to, and the man performed what he had undertaken, so that 300 men were posted in the mine, with 800 in the town-ditch to support them; but, in the middle of night M. de Megrigny sprung two mines, one immediately under the large mine, in which all the 300 men before-mentioned were stifled, the other threw up a part of the ditch and buried 100 men. On the 28th in the morning M. du May, the besiegers' chief engineer, had his skull fractured by a stone from the citadel: he was trepanned upon the spot, but died the next day. On the 31st M. de Surville beat the chamade, and proposed to surrender; and, after hostages exchanged, M.
Dolet

Dolet and the M. de Ravignan went to the Earl of Albemarle's house, where the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were, and presented a capitulation consisting of eleven articles. The Duke of Marlborough would scarcely permit them to be read, telling these gentlemen at the same time that they were to expect no terms but that of being made prisoners of war. They thereupon retired into the citadel again, and hostilities were immediately recommenced; but on the 3d of September M. de Surville was obliged to give up the place, there not being an ounce of meal of any sort left. In pity to this gentleman, the duke receded a little from the harsh terms he offered, admitting that the garrison should march out with arms and baggage, but that they should be taken from them as soon as they were in the field; that they should be conducted to Doway; but that the Marquis de Surville and M. Megrignan, lieutenant-generals, Messieurs de Ravignan and Dolet, marshals de camp, with two brigadiers, should remain as hostages for the releasement of the like number of prisoners taken by the French. Thus ended a siege of fifty-six days open trenches, in which the garrison lost not less than 3000 men, though M. de Surville endeavoured to make it believed that not above 1400 had been killed, having to that end set on foot a new regiment, consisting of officers servants, deserters, and sutlers, who were forced to fight when they had nothing to sell. But indisputably the place had held out much longer, and cost the allies a far greater number of men, if there had been in it a garrison and provisions suitable to the extent of the place.

As soon as Tournay was taken, the generals of the allies resolved to undertake some new expedition of importance, and the siege of Mons was resolved on; or, as M. du Mont judiciously expresses it, that city offered itself to their arms, as being a place of great consequence, and the only one which they could conveniently invest; for, as the Marshal de Villars had posted
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his army, Doway, Condé, and Valenciennes, were equally covered. The Elector of Bavaria penetrated so exactly the designs of the allies, that he immediately quitted Mons, where he had hitherto resided, and retired to Namur with his equipage and furniture. It was strange M. de Villars did not take the hint of his electoral highness's retiring to throw some troops into Mons, the garrison of which was as feeble as that of Tournay. He saw his error when it was too late, and lost a battle by endeavouring to repair it. The allies were so sensible of the condition of the place, that the first thing they did was to send the Prince of Hesse Cassel with sixty squadrons, supported by 4000 foot, to force the French lines in the neighbourhood of that city, and to prevent their throwing any troops into it from the posts they possessed in its neighbourhood. The Prince of Hesse left the camp on the 3d of September, in the evening, the very day that the citadel of Tournay surrendered: by two in the morning the whole army was in march to support him, but the heavy rains which fell the next day exceedingly impeded them. The Prince of Hesse however advanced with better success, and arrived on the fifth in sight of the lines. He would gladly have attacked them that night, but it was so dark that he did not think it prudent. The next morning it was out of his power, for the French had abandoned them. His highness pursued them for several hours, but finding it impossible to come up with them, he returned to the village of Quens, where he encamped his right, stretching his left to Trouille, cutting off thereby all communication between the town and the enemy's camp. On the 7th about two in the afternoon the Duke of Marlborough continued his march, and, having passed the Trouille and the French lines, posted his left at Quevy and his right at Carignon. The same night his grace and Prince Eugene supped with the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, who, on their complimenting him on the happy success

success of his expedition, was pleased to answer, "that the French had utterly deprived him of the glory of it, by not so much as seeming to stay for him." On the 8th in the morning the army of Prince Eugene, having also passed the Trouille, took post on the right of that of the Duke of Marlborough.

These motions had so much alarmed the Marshal de Villars, that he dispatched an express to court that he might have the king's orders as to venturing a battle. Marshal de Boufflers brought the French king's orders to fight, if it was necessary, rather than suffer Mons to be besieged; and, in consequence of this, orders were sent to several detachments to come and join the army.

On the 6th the marshal passed the Schelde at Valenciennes with all his troops, and encamped at Quevrain. On the 7th they passed the Honneau, and encamped with their right at Attiche, and their left at Montrevil. On the 8th they remained in their camp, and were joined by the Count d'Artagnan, with the body of troops under his command, which had been strengthened by great detachments from the garrisons of Ypres, Dunkirk, Air, Doway, Arras; and Cambrai. The next day the French possessed themselves of the woods of Lagnieres, La Mastre, Tanieres, and Sart, with the hedges adjoining, where they posted their infantry: they likewise possessed themselves of the village of Malplaquet, and of the hedges adjoining, drawing their cavalry up in the openings between the woods. On this the confederate army had orders to march by the left in order to front the enemy, their right extending to Sart, their left to Bleron, their head-quarters being at Blaregnies; by this means the left wing was within cannon-shot of the enemy by two o'clock in the afternoon, but the English troops making a forage that day, and not returning till evening, there was so little day-light left that nothing more than cannonading passed till it was dark. The French worked hard all night

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night in fortifying their camp, though wonderfully strong by nature. They made deep lines along the whole front behind the thick hedges; and on the right, though they had a morass before them, they threw up three entrenchments one behind another: they threw up likewise several entrenchments in the plain before their centre, and mounted on them all such a quantity of artillery as gave it more the air of a fortress than a camp; besides, they cut down trees, chained them, and disposed them in such a manner as hindered the cavalry of the allies from acting at all; they likewise cut down all the hedges behind, that their own horse might be at liberty to move as there might be occasion. It is the common opinion of the English and Dutch writers who have mentioned this affair, that if the allies had immediately attacked the enemy the victory had been cheaper and more entire. On the 10th in the morning the cannonading recommenced, but nothing farther happened, because the generals resolved to wait the coming up of twenty battalions from Tournay. A deserter having given intelligence that the post of St. Guilain was very weakly guarded, Lieutenant-general Dedum was sent to attack it, that in case of misfortune there might be a road open to Aeth. His detachment consisted of 2000 men; and he had with him four pieces of cannon, but upon his arrival the French immediately beat the chamade and surrendered prisoners war, which was indeed all they could do, there being in the place but 200 men. An express dispatched to hasten the march of the battalions from Tournay, returned in the evening with news that they were in full march, and would certainly join the army in the morning, which was the 11th of September 1709, on which was fought the famous battle of Malplaquet, called also the battle of Mons, the battle of Tanieres, the battle of Blaregnies, and the battle of the Wood.

As there is great diversity among the several accounts we have of this battle, the reader must excuse some

recapitulations which are found necessary in order to set the different opinions of writers on this subject in their proper light. That the whole of the relation may be as clear and as connected as possible, we shall begin with shewing the disposition of the enemy, and then proceed to the description of the attack.

The right wing of the Marshal de Villars's army was stretched to the wood of Lagniere on one side, and on the other to the wood of Janfart, that is, it took up the whole space between those woods, and was in part covered with that last-mentioned; it had before it hedges extremely thick, several deep ditches, and three entrenchments, one behind another. The centre took up the whole opening between the woods of Janfart and Sart, and formed something more than a semi-circle, so that its middle was flanked by its extremities. There was besides this a hamlet before it full of infantry and artillery, and the whole space from one wood to another had a good entrenchment. The left wing was posted part in the wood of Sart and part behind in the plain; besides the wood which naturally covered them, the enemy had raised up piles of fascines with stakes before them, and where they might play most to advantage, had planted several pieces of cannon. Throughout their whole disposition there were several openings for their horse to advance when it was necessary. Their artillery was well disposed; and M. Villars suffered neither tent nor baggage to remain in the field, that his troops might not be incommoded. When the action was about to commence, he yielded the right to M. de Boufflers as the oldest officer, but he retained the command till he was wounded.

As to the disposition of the allies, it is sufficient to observe here, that Prince Eugene with his troops acted upon the right, the Duke of Marlborough commanded in the centre, and Count Tilly with the Prince of Orange was at the head of the Dutch troops on the left. The confederates had a battery of twenty-eight

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pieces of cannon on the left, another of forty in the centre, and the rest of the artillery was distributed on the right. The morning of the battle was obscured by a very thick fog, which favoured the allies in disposing their troops and raising their batteries very much. About half an hour after seven it cleared up, and gave the armies a distinct view of each other. A little after eight the confederates gave the signal for the attack to be made, by a discharge of fifty pieces of cannon.

Prince Eugene of Savoy, with eighty-six battalions of his right wing, immediately entered the wood of Sart, and attacked the enemy with the utmost vigour. Count Lotum with twenty-two battalions did the like between Prince Eugene's attack and the post of the Duke of Marlborough. The action was very warm, and the troops of the allies were more than once repulsed; but Prince Eugene animated the troops in such a manner, and directed every thing with such coolness, the battery from the centre playing all the time on the enemy's flank, that at last they began to give way; but his highness, advancing to give orders, received a wound by a musket-shot behind the ear. Those who were next him intreated the prince to have it dressed; but he answered that it would be time enough in the evening, and at the same time galloped to another place where his presence was necessary. In about two hours the French were effectually ruined on this side, their whole left wing being driven out of the woods, and forced upon their centre. The attack made by the left wing of the allies began about half an hour after that on the right, but continued much longer and with far greater loss of blood. It hath been before observed, that besides thick hedges the French had there no less than three entrenchments well furnished with artillery. The Prince of Orange, who commanded thirty Dutch battalions, sustained by fifteen other battalions of Prus-

fian, Hanoverian, and Hessian, troops, attacked these fortifications with prodigious valour. He forced the first and second entrenchments with great loss, and encouraged the soldiers to attack the third; but the French, reinforced by a numerous detachment from the centre, not only baffled the efforts of the Dutch in endeavouring to force their last entrenchments, but, failing on them with new vigour, drove them from those they had before taken into their first posts, retook nine colours of which they had made themselves masters, and made themselves masters of six of theirs. His highness of Orange, as soon as the troops had drawn breath, advanced again at their head, with a pair of colours in his hand, and led them to attack a second time those entrenchments which they had gained and lost. In this attack they had the same success as before, they forced the two first intrenchments, but they were unable to drive the French from the last. When the enemy's left began to retire and draw off their cannon, the Earl of Orkney was detached with fifteen or twenty battalions to force their entrenchments in the plain between the woods, which service that nobleman performed with surprising celerity as well as success, and to which was chiefly owing the entire defeat of the French army; for the Prince d'Auvergne, with a body of horse entering the plain, found the cavalry of the enemy in good order and ready to receive him; he attacked them nevertheless, and pushed the first squadrons above 200 paces; but, the household troops of France attacked him with such vigour, that they not only regained their ground, but forced the horse of the allies in great disorder to retire towards the entrenchments lined by the Earl of Orkney and his detachment. Under their cover other detachments of horse formed and entered the plain, till at last the French every where gave way. The Prince of Hesse took this opportunity to charge the enemy's right wing in flank, which put them into such

such confusion, that the Prince of Orange, who had been hitherto able to make no impression, now constrained them to quit their last entrenchment. The French, seeing now no hopes of victory left, did all they could to save their cannon and to make a handsome retreat. Their horse continued to fight about half an hour longer, but with great disadvantage. M. Buleau entered the plain with his squadrons from the right of the duke's army, and the Count de Feltz did the same with a considerable body of Imperial horse. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene came thither soon after in person. This stand of their cavalry gave time to their foot to draw together and to retire in tolerable order. General Vink with a body of the confederate horse surrounded a great many battalions of the enemy's right, and summoned them to surrender prisoners of war; but the officer who commanded them, marching along a narrow road with a morass on one side and a wood on the other, found means to extricate himself, but not without considerable loss. The generals, perceiving that the French retired by several defiles, suffered the horse to continue the pursuit; but, eighteen squadrons advancing farther than the rest, in order to disperse the enemy, turning the corner of a wood found their whole left wing in very good order, with the Marshal de Boufflers at their head: Colonel de la Lippe and another officer, who had turned a little too quick, were made prisoners. These eighteen squadrons took post on the side of a wood, expecting that the French would attack them, but Marshal Boufflers continued his march. The allies continued the pursuit as far as the village of Quievrain, where the French having posted a brigade of foot, and some of their squadrons taking possession of the eminences thereabouts, the allies suffered them to pass the Haineau, and to retire unmolested to Bavay. The rest of their army had taken the roads of Valenciennes and Condé, leaving the confederates masters of the field

field of battle, fourteen pieces of cannon, and twenty-five standards and colours, amongst them the *blanche cornette*, the first standard of the light horse of France. Such was the issue of this obstinate engagement, which, though far less decisive than the battles of Hochstet and Turin, was more bloody than either.

We are now to speak of the loss which the allies sustained in this battle, and which, from the account we have given of it, the reader cannot wonder was very great. M. du Mont, whose accounts are generally just and exact, reckons thus: Of the infantry in the army of Prince Eugene, he says there were 1984 killed, and 3431 wounded; of the infantry in the army of the Duke of Marlborough 3563 killed, and 9375 wounded; the loss of the horse killed and wounded, according to him, amounted to 2000; total, 20,300 men; upon which this gentleman makes the following remark; "This was certainly too much for a victory accompanied with no other advantage but the entire defeat of the enemy, and the only fruit of which was taking a single place. The Imperialists and English did not suffer much; their horse escaped mighty well, and of their foot they had not above thirty killed and sixty wounded in any battalion. It did not fare so with the Dutch; they bore the burden of all, and the victory was bought with their blood. Of 20,000 killed and wounded in this battle, 11,000 belonged to them, though the troops of the States did not make a fourth part of the army. The second and third battalion of the Dutch guards, which consisted upwards of 1200 men, were reduced to less than 500, and out of ten captains they had eight killed on the spot. The company of cadets was so terribly maltreated, that only three escaped without wounds. The regiments of Heukelum, Yvoy, Soutland, Berkhoffer, Palland, Nassau Woudenbourg, and Sturler, were in the same plight, as were also the Scotch regiments in the Dutch service, viz. Tullibardine, Hepburn, and Swinton, all their

their colonels being killed. They likewise lost the Lieutenant-generals Baron Spar, Count Oxenstiern, and M. Weck, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the adjutant to the Prince of Orange, and a vast number of other officers of distinction." From very particular lists printed by authority, it appears that there were in the two armies of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough 129 battalions: the total of the killed and wounded was 8353. In Prince Eugene's there were twelve Dutch battalions, and the total of their killed and wounded was 1599. In the army of the Duke of Marlborough there were thirty Dutch battalions, and the total of their killed and wounded amounted to 8463; in all their killed and wounded amounted to 10,062; which is more in proportion than M. du Mont's account makes them. Other nations however lost several officers of great note, particularly the Prussians, of whom General Lottum and General Tettau were killed on the spot. Of the British troops, Brigadier Lallo, a gentleman much regretted, was killed, together with the famous Sir Thomas Pendergast, who did the nation such eminent service in the business of the assassination plot, Colonel Rivet of the guards, who when he found his wound permitted him to stand returned to the charge and died fighting. Colonel Cranston, Lieutenant-colonel Arundel and Lieutenant-colonel Bethel, Lieutenant-colonel Ramsay, Major Lashly, and Major Rew, died of their wounds. Among the wounded were Prince Eugene, Lieutenant-generals Wackerbaert, Hamilton, and Webb, Brigadier Croonstrom, Lieutenant-colonel Farmer, Major Chivers, &c. The unproportioned loss of the Dutch occasioned many speculations; the Prince of Orange, who certainly behaved very bravely, is said to have complained of not being supported; he had in this action two horses killed under him, one of his aid-de-camps and one of his gentlemen fell by his side, and two or three other of his domestics shared the same fate. The

loss of the French is not certainly known, but it is generally believed that it amounted to at least 17,000 killed and wounded, though M. de Quincy says that their whole loss did not exceed 8000; but amongst these there were a great number of persons of distinction, particularly the following officers, who were killed: the Count de Chemerault, lieutenant-general; M. de Pallavicini, lieutenant-general; the Marquis de Charost, Count de Beuil, Chevalier de Croy, and Count de Angennes, brigadiers; M. de Stekenburg and Count de Rochbonne, colonels of horse; the Count de Briorde, captain in the gensdarmes. Among the wounded were the Chevalier de St. George, who had a deep cut in his right arm; he happened to be sick at Quesnoy of a fever, but arrived post in the army just as the action began; the Count de Montefson, lieutenant-general, who commanded in chief the troops of the household, entreated him to put himself at the head of that corps, which he accordingly did, and was present in the twelve charges which those troops gave and received before they were broken by the horse of the allies, and in the last charge received the cut in the arm before-mentioned; the Marshal de Villars was dangerously wounded in the knee, when the left wing of the French army was driven from its posts by Prince Eugene; M. d'Albergotti, the Duke de Guiche, and Messieurs de Coutenau, lieutenant-generals; M. de Coerquen, Marshal de Camp, had his leg shot away; the Duke de St. Aignan, colonel of horse; and the Chevalier de Montmorency, marshal de camp, both received dangerous wounds. Brigadier Desgreberg, upwards of seventy years old, had both his legs shot away in the first cannonading.

After the engagement was over, there was, as we have observed, no great slaughter made in the retreat. The next day was spent by the allies in burying their dead; and, it being discovered that great numbers of the French left on the field of battle and in the adjacent

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cent houses, were not mortally wounded, the Duke of Marlborough immediately sent to inform the Marshals Boufflers and Villars that they might send a certain number of waggons to carry them off, and in the mean time his grace posted a guard to prevent any of these unhappy people from being any way injured. The French generals were extremely well pleased with this act of civility, and sent the Chevalier de Luxemburg a lieutenant-general, with 200 horse, to settle matters with the general appointed by the allies, of which when the duke had notice, he made choice of Lieutenant-general Cadogan, who in a few hours adjusted all things with M. de Luxembourg, and, having left a commissary to take a list of the wounded on the paroles of the officers, he returned to the camp. The French spent two days in burying the dead and carrying off the wounded, of whom there were 1500 acknowledged prisoners of war, and who it was agreed should not serve till a like number of prisoners should be released by the French.

After this battle, M. de Villars had it in his power to have strengthened the garrison of Mons, to which end he detached the brigade of Picardy; but, it was so terribly fatigued by the great service it had for many days endured, that when it arrived within a league of Mons, there were not 200 men with the colours. The Chevalier de Livry, with one battalion, entered the place, and made a poor addition to a weak and dispirited garrison, very unfit for the defence of so large as well as so important a place.

The French flattered themselves, as M. de Quincy expressly tells us, with the hopes, that, after the great loss the allies had sustained in their infantry in the battle of Malplaquet, they would not be able to undertake any siege this campaign; but, they were deceived. Prince Eugene determined the council of war, which was held shortly after the battle, to resolve on causing Mons to be immediately invested, that the

world might be convinced the allies had more than a nominal victory at Malplaquet; part therefore of the infantry which had suffered most was sent into garrison, and battalions drawn from those garrisons repaired to the army, so that on the 20th instant, all things being ready, Mons was invested by the Prince of Orange, at the head of thirty battalions and as many squadrons; but the day before, by the diligence of the officer who commanded them, three French battalions arrived in the place, otherwise the defence would have been very short; for, in the condition the garrison was in, there were scarcely men enough to mount guard and to relieve it.

Mons is the capital of the province of Hainault, one of the finest cities in the Spanish Flanders; its situation is equally advantageous in point of strength and pleasantness. Its fortifications were regular and well contrived, and its walls of great extent, fortified with three deep ditches, and adorned with fine walks, shaded with pleasant trees. This city has a noble castle, its streets are large, well paved, and the buildings stately. The market place is very spacious, and there is a great trade carried on in grograms, says, and other worsted manufactures. Mons is watered by two rivers, the Trouille and the Haine, the former cutting it through the lower side. Its great security consisted in that facility which it derived from its situation of laying all the adjacent country under water, with which, and a garrison proportionate to its extent, and the multiplicity of its works, it might certainly be preserved against almost any force that could besiege it. At this time the Count de Grimaldi, lieutenant-general in the service of Spain, commanded there. The Count Bergeick, minister of King Philip, and who had the management of his finances in Flanders, remained there, and was of great use to the garrison, because he employed the money he had in his hands, to furnish them with provisions and other things of which they stood

in need. The Baron de Malknegt, minister of the Elector of Bavaria, was also in it, probably with a view to encourage the garrison the better to do its duty, as well as to take care of some effects and furniture which his highness had left behind him.

The Prince of Orange, who was to command this siege, had under him the following general officers of the infantry: the Lieutenant-generals Pettendorf, Rantzau, and Dohna; Major-generals Lord North and Grey, Sackens, Els, Ammama, and Ivoy; Brigadiers Evans, Earl of Orrery, Weeks, Horst, Rechteren, and Ockinga; of the cavalry, Lieutenant-general Schuemburg, Major-generals Stain, Chanclos, and Chens; and Brigadiers Fabricius and Hunderbein.

The trenches were opened on the 25th, and the siege was carried on with extraordinary vigour; and, that the French might see what an opinion the confederates had of their attempting any thing to disturb this siege, it was made without any lines of circumvallation. On the 1st of October, Major-general Ivoy advanced at the head of a detachment, to attack the horn-work and the redoubt which covered the mills where the besieged ground their corn. The general had with him a few pieces of cannon, which having played for a small time on those outworks, his men advanced, though the water came up to their waists, to give the assault, upon which the troops posted in the horn-work and redoubt surrendered prisoners of war. The taking of this post was of very great consequence to the besiegers; for they made themselves masters of forty sacks of meal, two pieces of cannon, and a considerable quantity of ammunition; and, what was of far greater use, a sluice, by which they let out a vast quantity of water, which must otherwise have given them a great deal of trouble. The 16th of October in the morning, the besiegers attacked with great vigour the second counterscarp of the horn-work, and carried it after a short resistance: they afterwards dis-

charged a shower of bombs and stones on the horn-work of Bertamont, which so incommoded the French that they quitted it; so that, when the besiegers came to storm it, they found, to their great surprise, nobody to oppose them. By the 20th the breaches were almost practicable, and the besiegers made great preparations for a general assault. The garrison thereupon hung out two white flags, one at each attack. Hostages were immediately exchanged, and those from the town being sent with the articles, they brought them to the camp of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough; all things were speedily adjusted, the garrison being allowed to march out with all the marks of honour, except cannon and mortar; and, General Grimaldi having signed this capitulation, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, as a mark of their respect, granted him two pieces of cannon and one mortar; with these and other marks of honour he marched out on the 23d, at the head of a garrison, if it might be so called, consisting only of a few hundred men, the rest being all either sick, wounded, or not inclined to continue any longer in so unfortunate a service.

Count Dhona, to whom the government of Mons was given, took possession of it the same day, with a detachment which was to remain in garrison during the winter. The season being far advanced, the winter-quarters were settled immediately after the reduction of Mons. On the 28th the army separated; the British troops marched to Ghent, the Danes to Bruges, the Prussians were quartered along the Maese, and the other troops in the Spanish Netherlands. For the better preventing any attempts the enemy might make in the winter, the Earl of Albemarle was left to command in chief in Flanders, and a sufficient number of general officers were ordered to remain with the troops quartered in most of the great towns of that country. The Duke of Marlborough returned to England, and
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Prince Eugene to Germany; and thus ended the campaign in Flanders.

In Germany the remonstrances of the Queen of Great Britain and the States General were renewed with greater warmth than ever, as indeed there was greater reason. The Elector of Hanover, who was to command again upon the Rhine, had formed a project in conjunction with the Duke of Savoy which must have destroyed France. In order to this he desired only a moderate supply of men and money: the latter he fixed at 1,000,000 of crowns, which he desired might be deposited in the military chest at Franckfort; as to the former, he insisted upon 80,000 men, which were promised him. However, when the season approached, things went in their old channel, and the elector's army was rather weaker than the year before. General Thungen drew it together behind the lines of Etlingen, where he remained expecting the Elector of Hanover, and certain reinforcements he was to bring with him.

As for the French army, it was also but in a weak state; and the Marshal de Harcourt, who was appointed to command it, went with great reluctance to Strasbourg. He had under him the Count du Bourg and several other lieutenant-generals of merit, to whom, at the very beginning of the campaign, he declared that he depended wholly on their vigilance and counsels. It was peculiar to that general, that he seemed to be the only man in France to whom his own abilities were not known, and yet he never failed to exert them when there was occasion; but his modesty was so great, that on every successful event he was ready to attribute all things to the officers under him, and nothing to himself, which was the reason that he was better served than any other general in the world; all the generals who acted under him knowing that their services would not only be acknowledged, but over-paid.

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The Elector of Hanover, who joined the army in the latter end of June, resolved, though he had neither the men nor the money which had been promised him, to attempt the execution of the grand project which he had formed. This project was to send a great detachment across the Rhine into the Upper Alsace, and to follow it with his whole army, while the Duke of Savoy passing the Rhosne penetrated into Franche Comté, and in this project his electoral highness had certainly succeeded, if the officers under him had acted with the same prudence that his highness did. The first step he took was to send a corps of troops to Agembach, where the French had a detachment, which they withdrew however, on the approach of the Imperial troops. His electoral highness afterwards detached Count Mercy with thirteen battalions and twenty squadrons, with orders to possess himself of the Isle of Newbourg, and afterwards to pass into the Upper Alsace. Marshal deHarcourt, whose army was but just sufficient to guard his lines, as soon as the body of troops he had posted at Agembach returned, sent some detachments into Upper Alsace, suspecting the Elector of Hanover's design, which yet he imagined impracticable, because to effect it his troops must pass under the cannon of Basil, that is through the territories of the Swiss; but, as soon as he had intelligence that Count Mercy was actually on his march, he sent orders to M. des Roseaux, who commanded in the Isle of Newbourg, to abandon it, though a very advantageous post, because, having no troops at hand to support him, he was afraid that gentleman should be surrounded. He sent likewise a detachment to join the Count du Bourg, who commanded in the Upper Alsace, with this compliment, That he left all things to his courage and conduct; but that at all events he would have him fight the German troops.

Count Mercy now advanced towards the Count du Bourg in order of battle. M. du Bourg conceiving it impossible

impossible to deal with the Imperialists, with all the advantages they had, and with all the disadvantages he himself was under, contrived a method of fighting the Count du Mercy nearer an equality, which happened thus: he sent three couriers one after another to the governor of Huningen, to desire him to send a strong detachment of horse and foot to attack Count Mercy's bridge over the Rhine, while himself attacked him in his camp. M. du Bourg knew very well that the governor of Huningen had neither horse nor foot to send; but he foresaw that some of these couriers would fall into the hands of Count Mercy, and oblige him to send a detachment to secure his bridge, which accordingly happened. Count Mercy, after making this detachment, had still a superiority of two battalions, and therefore he advanced according to his former design to fight the French; his troops consisted of nine battalions and twenty squadrons; he disposed the latter ten in each wing, and drew up his infantry in the centre. Count du Bourg disposed his troops in the same manner, nine squadrons in each wing, six battalions in the centre, and another battalion behind, with his artillery. On the left of Count Mercy's army there was a hamlet called Homerstadt. The Count du Bourg saw that his right wing might be terribly incommoded from thence; he therefore detached 200 men from the battalion that guarded his artillery to take possession of it, which Count Mercy perceiving, sent two battalions to prevent it. Count du Bourg ordered M. des Roseaux, at the head of a regiment of dragoons, to go and support them; he found the 200 men in possession of the place, upon which he ordered his dragoons to dismount, and before the German battalions could form made a terrible discharge on them, which disordering them still more, M. des Roseaux caused his dragoons to mount and fall in upon them sword in hand, under the fire of the foot. Count Mercy had succoured them if M. du Bourg had not

in that instant attacked his right wing, which was also ill formed, and, falling at first into some confusion, M. du Bourg caused all his artillery to be discharged thereon with cartridge-shot, and then, putting himself at the head of his infantry, directed them to follow him without firing a shot; they did so, and, having received the German fire, fell in upon them with their bayonets fixed to their muskets, under the discharge of their own artillery, which, on the breaking of the German right wing, took their infantry in flank. This put an end to the business; for the Germans fled immediately towards their bridge. Thus ended the unfortunate action at Rumerheim, 800 men being killed on the spot, 2000 taken prisoners, twelve colours, eight standards, two kettle-drums, four pieces of cannon, twenty-two pontons, 500 waggons load of provisions, the hostages they had taken in Upper Alsace, and all their baggage; but the great loss of all was the papers of Count Mercy, whereby the French discovered the Duke of Savoy's design on Franche Comté, and a scheme he had laid for seizing of the citadel of Besançon. Count Mercy himself at the head of 300 horse, passed the bridge of boats he had thrown over the Rhine, and caused it to be broken afterwards. Count du Bourg sent an express with the news of this victory to the Marshal d'Harcourt, that he might have the satisfaction of sending a courier to court with the first advice thereof; but the marshal, far from desiring to deprive Mons. du Bourg in any sort either of the reward or glory of so great an action, refused to send any courier, and remitted it to M. du Bourg; who thereupon dispatched Count Dandazy, to whom the king gave a commandery of St. Louis, with a pension of 1000 crowns. He sent M. du Bourg the ribband of the holy ghost, and rewarded, as his custom was, all the other officers who had distinguished themselves in that action, beyond their hopes. Some short time after the Marshal d'Harcourt retook Hagembach,

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and afterwards encamped at Laukandel, in the very spot where the Germans had taken post before. He afterwards raised contributions in Baden, and in all the country about Landau. As for the German army, it was in no condition to undertake any thing; Velt-marshal Count de Thungen, an old experienced officer, growing dissatisfied with repeated disappointments he had met with in the service, fell ill suddenly of the gout in the stomach, which carried him off at a time when his presence was very necessary. The Elector of Hanover returned in the latter end of October into his own dominions, much disgusted with the treatment he had met with, and with the small regard which had been paid to his repeated instances for just and reasonable supplies. The command of the army fell then to the Count de la Tour, who had not much to do, the French army separating soon afterwards, and retiring into winter-quarters.

At the opening of this year, King Charles found his dominions reduced within a very narrow compass, that is to say in Spain, where little more than half the principality of Catalonia remained to him, and only Gibraltar and Alicant in all that large kingdom; besides, Gibraltar still remained in the hands of the English, and Alicant was then closely besieged by the Chevalier d'Asfelt, at the head of 12,000 men. This city and port is commanded by a strong castle, erected on a rock, at a small distance from the sea. It was garrisoned by only two regiments, and Major-general Richards was governor. The city held out for a considerable time against a large train of heavy artillery, which was well served, but at length the garrison was compelled to retire into the castle, which had been deemed impregnable, until the bravery of English sailors mastered it in the year 1706. Here they sunk three cisterns, and then, with incredible labour, filled them with water. The French carried on the siege with vigour, but found it impossible to make any impression on a place which

both art and nature had joined in securing. Still however determined not to relinquish their design, they resolved to attempt mining through the solid rock, in order at once to blow up the castle and its garrison into the air. The besieged were not at all alarmed at this undertaking, which they considered as utterly impracticable. It even supplied them with fresh hopes, as they believed it would retard the operations of the siege until a British fleet should arrive to their succour. Encouraged by these prospects, they bestirred themselves in annoying the workmen, and retarding their progress. The besiegers however wrought incessantly, and procured a number of peasants to assist in the labour. In three months such a fissure was made in the rock as their most experienced engineers pronounced equal to the tremendous purpose for which it had been hewn: 1500 barrels of powder were deposited therein, together with beams, iron bars and crows, which, by stopping the expansion of the powder when fired, might render the concussion more violent. On the 20th of March the garrison was summoned to surrender, and the most solemn assurances given them of being safely escorted to Barcelona, and their baggage and effects secured to them, if they surrendered in three days; the ruin that awaited them in case of an obstinate rejection of the honourable terms proposed was likewise represented in all its force. To convince them of the reality of their danger, the French general offered a safe conduct for some skilful persons who should be permitted to inspect the mine, and might make a faithful report of what would be the consequence of springing it. Two field-officers accepted this permission; and, after they had fully inspected this repository of desolation, they reported to the governor, that in their opinion the explosion would carry away the whole castle to the easternmost battery, unless it took vent through a mine which they themselves had dug, purposely to divert the force of this. The least mischief

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chief that it was likely to produce, would be to carry away the sea battery, the lodging rooms in the castle-cloſe, ſome of the chambers cut for ſoldiers barracks; and the great ciſtern would be much affected.

A general council of war was called, to deliberate on the proper ſtep to be taken at this criſis of their fate; but they obſtinately reſolved to commit themſelves to Providence, and defend the place. This reſolution was communicated to the French commander, who two nights after again ſent a flag, and endeavoured to divert them from their deſperate purpoſe, offering the ſame honourable terms of capitulation as had been before tendered: but all in vain. The third night approached, when the French ſent their third and laſt ſummons, and with it an aſſurance, that their mine was primed, and ſhould be ſprung by ſix o'clock the next morning. They remonſtrated againſt the fatal obſtinacy which cauſed them wilfully to ſeek their own deſtruction; ſtill offering them the former terms of ſurrender: but nothing could ſhake the ſteady purpoſe of theſe determined men. At five o'clock the next morning, as a prelude to this direful ſtroke, all the inhabitants of that quarter were ordered to quit their habitations. The beſieged during the night had kept a general guard, and employed the time in religious exerciſes. Major-general Richards, Colonel Sibourg, and Lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft of Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, ſat together in the governor's uſual lodging room; other officers cantoned themſelves as their tempers inclined, to paſs the dreary and preſaging night.

At length, day appearing, the inhabitants were ſeen flying in crouds to the weſtermoſt part of the town. The governor, attended by the principal officers, went to the weſt battery, to gain fuller information. After he had remained there about a quarter of an hour, Lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft deſired him to remove, as being unable to do any ſervice there; he and Colonel

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Sibourg both answered, that no danger was to be apprehended there, more than in any other place; and that there they would wait the event. The lieutenant-colonel, resolving to share the fate of his superiors, continued there, as did other officers from the same motive: but, the hour of five being now considerably past, the corporal's guard cried out, that the train was fired, observing some smoke from the lighted matches, and other combustible matter near it, from whence the same ascended to the centinels above. The governor and field officers were then urged to retreat, but refused. The mine at last blew up; the rock opened and shut; the whole mountain felt the convulsion; the governor and field officers, with their company, ten guns, and two mortars, were buried in the abyss; the walls of the castle shook, part of the great cistern fell, another cistern almost closed, and the rock shut a man to his neck in its cleft, who lived many hours in that agonising posture. About thirty-six centinels, and women, were swallowed up in different quarters, whose dying groans were heard, some of them four days after the melancholy catastrophe. Many houses of the town were overwhelmed in their ruins, and the castle suffered greatly; but was saved from total destruction by the vent which the explosion forced through the veins of the rock. This Major-general Richards, though an Englishman, was an officer in the King of Spain's (Charles's) service, and of the Romish religion; there perished, besides the officers already mentioned, five captains, three lieutenants, forty-two soldiers, all the miners, and about thirty peasants. Asfelt was a Frenchman in King Philip's service.

After the loss of Major-general Richards, the command devolved on Lieutenant-colonel Dalbeune, of Sibourg's regiment, who drew out a detachment of the whole garrison, and with it made a desperate sally, to shew that they were not appalled by this convulsive shock. The bombs from the castle played on the town

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more violently, and the shot galled every corner of their streets; yet still the castle remained as defensible as before, so that this vigorous defence was maintained till the arrival of the British fleet, a month afterwards, under the command of Sir George Byng; his ships were, the *Defiance*, *Northumberland*, *Essex*, *York*, and *Dunkirk*. The last went within the line in three and a half fathom, as drawing less water than the other; then, laying her broadside to the east part of the town, began to cannonade a battery of four guns, and two others raised under the hill, each mounted with two guns, and from the mole-head a forty-two pounder; but the wind being fresh, and a great swell rolling in from the eastward, the large ships were obliged to weigh their anchors, and get out of cannon-shot. The *Dunkirk*, having much of her rigging damaged, and her small bower cut, lay exposed for some time to the shot, bombs, and carcasses, of the enemy; but at length she got off. The weather continuing very bad, and General Stanhope, who was on-board the fleet, finding the enemy increase considerably in strength, and supposing the garrison by this time to be driven to great extremities, sent a flag of truce to Chevalier d'Asfelt the Spanish commander, with proposals for surrendering the castle, which were agreed to, and the garrison, marching out with the honours of war, embarked on-board the fleet. No troops ever displayed a more inflexible firmness, and, although the event was fatal to the principal officers, yet the garrison in general, after enduring all these perils, instead of surrendering prisoners of war, only evacuated the place. M. d'Asfelt, besides thirty-three pieces of cannon, found therein 50,000 pounds of powder, 8000 bullets, 530 bombs, 1000 grenades, 80 iron hand-mills, with abundance of other things. The conquest therefore of Alicant was of mighty importance; for now there were but four garrisons in the hands of King Charles

Charles and his allies, viz. Gironne, Barcelona, Terrogonia and Gibraltar.

From the commencement of the war to this time the forces on this side were generally speaking composed rather of the militia than regular troops; but it so happened this year that both the Portuguese army under the command of the Earl of Galway, and the army of King Philip under the Marquis de Bay, were in excellent order. That of the Earl of Galway consisted of twenty-six battalions of Portuguese and six battalions of English foot, and of thirteen regiments of horse; he had with him a train of twenty pieces of cannon, and threatened to make the siege of Badajox in the very beginning of the campaign. The Earl of Galway, having marched as far as the Caya in his way to Bajadox, found there the army of Spain encamped and ready to engage; he caused however bridges to be immediately thrown over the river, but made no farther motion afterwards for some days. On the 7th of May the Spanish army made a forage, upon which the Earl of Galway resolved to attack them, expecting to have found them in great disorder; but this was a stratagem of the Marquis de Bay, who, foreseeing what would happen, marched with his infantry drawn up in two lines, and his cannon loaded with cartridge-shot. The horse too had their orders, instead of foraging, to return to their posts by eleven in the morning. The battle was of but very short continuance, the Spanish horse being much superior to that of the Portuguese, so that in less than half an hour the left wing was broken, and three battalions of English troops, with some pieces of cannon which had been placed behind them, were entirely cut off from the rest of the army. It unluckily happened, that the Earl of Galway was there in person, and was forced to retire into Higuella to save himself. The infantry, finding the business over, drew themselves up in a square battalion, and retired. M. de Bay harassed them with his horse
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in their march ; but however they passed the river Guadiana, which was now dry, and were soon out of reach. There was about 1700 men killed and wounded, and about 2500 taken prisoners. The Spaniards lost only 400 men. The Earl of Galway retired with the broken remains of his army under the cannon of Elvas, and took such precautions in a few days afterwards as hindered the Spaniards from making any other use of their victory than blocking up Olivença ; so that on the coming on of the heats they retired into quarters of refreshment. In order to restore the army to its former condition, six new regiments were raised in the pay of the Queen of Great Britain. The first was given to the Earl of Galway, the King of Portugal named the other five colonels, and the queen the lieutenant-colonels. Thus ended the campaign on this side.

The operations at sea were not suspended by the negotiation carrying on at the Hague. In the month of November 1708, her majesty had conferred the post of rear-admiral of Great-Britain (which had been vacant ever since the death of Sir Cloudefley Shovel) on Sir John Leake, and at the same time paid him this signal compliment, "that she was put in mind of it by the voice of her people." Early in the spring of 1709 Lord Dursley was at sea with a squadron which cruised in the channel, and picked up several French prizes. His lordship, when he had only four ships of the line with him, viz. the Kent, Plymouth, Monk, and Litchfield, fell in with M. du Guai Trouin's squadron, consisting of eleven men-of-war, twelve leagues south-west of Scilly. It being then three o'clock in the morning, and their lights being seen, his lordship made the signal for wearing, which was obeyed, and the whole squadron, the weather being dark, got clear of the enemy. On the 2d of March (eight days after this), Captain Tollet, in the Assurance of 70 guns, with the Hampshire and Assistance of 50 guns each, having the trade from Kinsale to the port of London

London under convoy, came up with four sail of this fleet, about eight leagues south-south-west of the Lizard. The French commodore in a ship of 70 guns ranged along the larboard side of the Assurance, when the two ships engaged yard-arm and yard-arm for the space of half an hour; in which time the small shot from the French did great execution among the sailors and marines that were quartered on deck. The Assurance on her part fired her upper and part of her lower deck guns so effectually, that she obliged the enemy to sheer off; the other three ships, which were of 40 or 50 guns, then passed the Assurance, firing several broadsides into her, after which they bore away to join their commodore. The Assurance, having thus sustained all the weight of the action, was reduced to a very shattered condition, both in her rigging and hull, to repair which as far as possible the utmost dispatch was used, and the three ships bore down to defend the merchantmen. On their approach the French ships bore away, but not before they had picked up five of the merchantmen. Captain Tollet had been four months sick, but, when the French ships appeared, was put in a chair, and carried upon deck, and received a wound in the action; his first lieutenant was shot in the leg, which wound he got dressed, and immediately returned upon deck; the second lieutenant was killed, together with twenty-five common men, and fifty-three wounded, some of whom afterwards died. The Hampshire had only two killed and eleven wounded; the Assistance eight killed and twenty-one wounded, among whom was Captain Tudor her commander, who died of his wounds. The French suffered severely, although their exact loss cannot be ascertained. Lord Dursley shortly after escorted the Lisbon fleet of merchantmen out of the channel, which he had no sooner parted with than he discovered the Achilles, the ship which M. Trouin was on-board, with the Glory, which had the day before taken the Bristol man-of-war of 50 guns.

guns. His lordship immediately gave them chase, recovered the Bristol, which, by a shot in her bread-room, sunk soon afterwards; but all the men, except twenty, were saved. The Achilles, much shattered, escaped by her sailing, but the Le Glorieux, a French man-of-war of 44 guns and 312 men, was taken; his lordship having about seventy men killed and wounded in the action. On the 26th of April two small ships were taken, and on the 7th of May a privateer, carrying 14 guns and 100 men; but, the provisions through all the ships then growing very short, his lordship found it necessary to return to Plymouth on the 13th with his Squadron, which then consisted of one third and seven fourth rates, and there received the unwelcome news, that her majesty's ship the Sweepstakes, of 32 guns, had been taken by two French privateers, each of which was of greater force than that frigate.

On the 18th of May an engagement happened which did great honour to English valour and conduct. Capt. Walter Riddel, in the Falmouth, a 50-gun ship, in convoying some New-England ships laden with masts, was attacked twenty-four leagues off Scilly, by four French men-of-war, the largest of which, a 60-gun ship, attempted to board him, which Captain Riddel anticipated by filling his head-sails, and laying her on-board, under her bowsprit, directly athwart-hause, in which situation he raked her fore and aft with his cannon. The two ships continued in this position an hour and an half, during which time many of the Falmouth's crew boarded the Frenchman, but they were bravely repulsed, that ship having a much greater number of hands on-board. The French commodore at length grew tired of this close contest, and after having endeavoured to destroy the Falmouth's sails and rigging, disengaged herself, and made after the merchantmen. Captain Riddel however made shift to follow him with such expedition, as secured the whole fleet, which he

brought safe into Plymouth. In this action the Falmouth had thirteen men killed, and fifty-six wounded. The captain himself received a wound in the right leg, and had several other hurts; his second lieutenant, and a volunteer named Lawson, were shot through the body. The Falmouth had 20,000*l.* New-England money on-board her at the time of the engagement.

Nothing of any importance happened in the Mediterranean this summer. Sir George Byng, after his fruitless attempt to relieve Alicant, looked into Toulon, where he saw eight ships rigging, and one large man-of-war on the careen, the rest being laid up.--- The incapacity and misconduct of Charles III. while it ruined his affairs in Spain, spread a languor over the operations of this fleet. Sir George therefore resolved to return to England, where he arrived on the 25th of September, leaving Sir Edward Whitaker with a pretty strong squadron in the Mediterranean. That commander, in the bay of Roses, fell in with the grand convoy intended for the French service in the Lamperdan, which consisted of forty large vessels laden with corn and other provisions, of which he took thirty, and hindered the rest from putting to sea; by which the enemy was greatly distressed, and King Charles's army so happily supplied with provisions as to be able to keep the field, which they otherwise could not have done. Some Dutch writers state, that Admiral Whitaker, with fifteen men of war, entered the bay of Roses, and destroyed fifty of the French ships laden with corn: they add, that the admiral would have assisted his catholic majesty in reducing Roses, which would have left the enemy without a seaport in Catalonia; but his advice was not followed, which was much to the prejudice of King Charles's affairs.

In his return from Mediterranean, Sir Geo. Byng procured an exact account of the strength, station, and designs, of M. du Guay Trouin, and sent an account

count of it to the lord high admiral, who immediately forwarded it to Lord Dursley, who was just returned from a cruise. His lordship was instructed to annoy the enemy as much as possible, and to be particularly careful in protecting the homeward-bound West-India fleet, which Trouin lay in wait for. On the 8th of October his lordship sailed from Plymouth, with one third rate, and two fourths, having before detached Captain Vincent with six ships to secure the West-India fleet; and soon after, his lordship joined that detachment, and thereby prevented the French from succeeding in their design. Three weeks after, his lordship fell in with the Barbadoes fleet, and, havingly sufficiently strengthened their convoy, detached two frigates for intelligence into the road of Brest, that he might be the better enabled to undertake farther service. While his lordship was thus employed, Captain Hughes, in the Winchester, happened to chase a ship which proved to be a Dutch privateer, whose commander was required to strike his flag, but, instead of paying that established respect to the flag of England, he fired both great and small shot into the Winchester; but, being answered in the same manner, after an obstinate dispute (though it was known the Winchester was an English ship of war) the commanding officer was killed, and between thirty and forty of the Dutch seamen.

In June this year, the Fowey frigate, of 32 guns, fell in with two French ships of equal force in the Mediterranean, to whom she was obliged to strike. On the 23d of September, Captain Hanway, in the Plymouth of 60 guns, brought in the l'Adriat, a French man-of-war, mounting 40 guns, and 260 men. Captain Hanway had no more hands on-board his ship capable of doing duty, than were able to work as many guns as the enemy mounted. The French commander, the Sieur Jacques Cashard, with fourteen officers and seamen, were killed in the engagement. The

West-India fleet, the latter end of October, arriving within 150 leagues of the Lizard, under convoy of five men-of-war, was overtaken by a violent storm, which dispersed and shattered the ships. The Hampshire and the Gloucester, two of the convoy, were afterwards met by M. du Guay Trouin's squadron, and, although the force was extremely unequal, the English men-of-war made a brave defence, by which means the merchantmen escaped. At length, after a fight which lasted seven hours, the Gloucester, a 60-gun ship, and just rebuilt, was forced to strike, but the Hampshire beat the enemy off, and got safe into port, in a very shattered condition. On Christmas day, the Solebay man-of-war, with eight merchant-ships under her convoy, bound to Lynn in Norfolk, were unfortunately cast away upon Bostonknock, and the crew of all the ships perished, except two boats full which got safe on-shore.

The events in the West-Indies are all the transactions in the year 1709 which remain to be spoken of.

Admiral Wager appointed Captain Hutchins, in the Portland, to cruise near Porto Bello. On the 3d of May he fell in with two French ships of 50 guns each, the Coventry which had been taken from the English, and the Minion. Captain Hutchins engaged these ships two days; and, having killed the first captain and wounded the second on-board the Coventry, made a great slaughter among her men, and brought her main-mast by the board, she struck. On-board his own ship only nine were killed and twelve wounded. On-board this prize were 20,000 pieces of eight. The Minion her consort escaped, but, having suffered much in the first engagement, she was supposed to have sent off much of her cargo on-board the Coventry. The Portland afterwards, in convoying a fleet of merchantmen through the windward passage, took a French ship near Cape St. Nicholas worth about 6000*l*. Captain Vernon, also, of the Jersey, took a Spanish sloop
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laden with tobacco, and retook, from two French sloops, a Guinea ship with 400 negroes. Captain Hardy, of the Roebuck, brought in a brigantine, partly laden with indigo, taken in at Petit Guaves, which he met on the north-side of Hispaniola, as she was going from thence to Port de Paix.

In the autumn, the rear-admiral was ordered home: whereupon he left Captain Tudor Trevor in command of the men-of-war stationed at Jamaica. On his arrival in England he was received with great cordiality, the advices from the West-Indies expressing full satisfaction in the honour and vigilance of this gallant officer. As it was a very uncommon case for West-India planters and merchants to be satisfied with the commander stationed among them, their manner of expressing themselves concerning Rear-admiral Wager, was the more acceptable to the admiralty; and, says Dr. Campbell, "clearly confutes a maxim held at a certain board, that it is impossible to satisfy the merchants at home, or the planters abroad."

The Earl of Pembroke, finding the office of lord high-admiral too arduous an employment for a mind engaged in the pursuit of science, and the study of antiquity, resolved to resign the dignity to which he had so lately been restored, notwithstanding he had discharged the duties of that office to the general satisfaction of all parties. His lordship had refused a pension of 3000*l.* a year, when he quitted the admiralty department to make way for Prince George of Denmark, at the accession of Queen Anne, but it was now bestowed upon him. The queen hereupon made an offer of this post to the Earl of Orford, who had for ten years been disengaged from public business. That nobleman declined the office of lord high-admiral, but was willing to accept a share in the direction of the admiralty. Her majesty therefore, in the beginning of the month of November, issued a commission, whereby she appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir John

John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, and Paul Methuen, Esqrs. commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland.

On the 15th of November, the parliament met at Westminster. The queen, who, on account of the death of the prince her husband, had not gone to the house in the preceding session, opened the present in person. In her speech she inveighed against the supposed duplicity of France; spoke of the principal events of the year, and asked for fresh supplies to maintain the war. Upwards of 6,000,000*l.* were granted; towards raising of which, 1,500,000*l.* was provided by means of a lottery. These immense parliamentary grants astonished the French nation; for, while their credit was entirely gone, ours was in its zenith. Hereupon Dr. Campbell makes the following judicious remark: "Without question, if ever our credit should fail, either in respect to money or the reputation of our government, the French will gain as great an ascendancy over us as we then had over them."

Thus far public measures were conducted smoothly, and no violent party-heats impeded that system of foreign politics, which had been adopted through the war. But, as the most important events are frequently produced by the most contemptible agents, so at this time a man started up to disturb the public peace, who by being quite destitute of talents, and a bigot to principles that were irrational and indefensible, was led to strike into the paths of politics, which many a dull man besides him has chosen without being so fortunate as to acquire his celebrity. On the 5th of November, a day commemorated as the anniversary of the discovery of the popish plot, and the landing of King William, Dr. Sacheverel preached a furious sermon against the Whigs, before the lord-mayor at St. Paul's, which he printed under the title of "The Perils of False Brethren,

thren, both in Church and State." In this sermon he strenuously asserted the high-church notions of hereditary right, passive obedience, and non-resistance; gave an odious turn to the revolution, the protestant succession, the union, and the toleration granted to dissenters; recommended the persecution of them, and insinuated that the church was in danger. It is impossible to express the ferment this raised in the nation. He was impeached by the commons at the bar of the upper house, and a day appointed for trying him before the lords at Westminster-hall. Meanwhile the Tories, who all approved his principles, were as violent in his defence as the parliament in his prosecution. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial, and the queen was every day present as a private spectator. This trial lasted several days, and vast multitudes constantly attended him as he went to the hall, and abused all that would not pull off their hats to him, and cry out for the church. They proceeded so far as to demolish several meeting-houses, and to make bonfires of the materials, with loud huzzas of "High Church and Sacheverel." The queen herself favoured his cause, as it contributed to the extension of her prerogative. On the 10th of March 1710, he was found guilty by the lords, and sentenced not to preach for three years, and his sermon to be burned by the common hangman. The lenity of this sentence was considered by the Tories as a victory. Indeed, if Harley and his confederates were not at the bottom of this affair, they certainly made their advantage of it: for, by their thus artfully applying to the queen's passion for the church, she soon became the easy property of the Tories, or rather of those who wanted to rule by their means.

While the proceedings against Sacheverel engrossed the attention of the nation, the French king continued to solicit peace, and a fresh negotiation was opened at Gertruydenberg. He offered to acknowledge the archduke

archduke as King of Spain, to give no assistance to his grandson, but to leave him entirely to his own fortune; to give four cautionary towns, to deliver up Strasburg and Brisac, to renounce the sovereignty of Alsace, and only to keep the government thereof; to demolish all the forts between Bale and Philipsburg; to fill up the harbour of Dunkirk, and entirely erase the fortifications of that place, which had been formidable for a considerable time; to give up to the States-general Tournay, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé, and Maubeuge. The emperor and the Queen of Great Britain left the Dutch to negotiate as they should think proper. Buys and Vander Dussel, two burgomasters, were deputed by the states. These republicans assumed all the dignity of conquerors, and treated the ministers of one of the most haughty monarchs with all that loftiness and contempt, with which the Dutch had been treated in the year 1672. The Dutch, now aimed at becoming lords of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, and to have ruled in Liege and Cologne. Thus it was they intended to aggrandize themselves even on the ruin of their allies. The French plenipotentiaries even went so far as to promise that the king their master should contribute money to dethrone his grandson Philip V. The Dutch negotiators, not content with that, insisted, as one of the preliminaries, that Louis should engage to furnish an army for the purpose of establishing Charles III. on the throne of Spain. These conferences proved as ineffectual as the former; and France began to see with pleasure the ferment which prevailed in Great Britain, and already formed hopes that a deliverance from the ruin which threatened her would be brought about by those violent civil dissensions which debilitated her rival.

The preparations made by the allies for the campaign of 1710 were vigorous beyond example. The English and Dutch had several thousand more men in Flanders than the year before, and the officers had

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strict orders to join their respective corps by the end of March. The Duke of Marlborough arrived very early at the Hague, and took all imaginable care that things should be in order by the time Prince Eugene arrived. His highness came to the Hague on the 12th of April, and, every thing being properly disposed, he found it unnecessary for him to wait there longer than two days; so that the 15th was fixed for his and the Duke of Marlborough's departure for the army.

The day before, the Earl of Albemarle, governor of Tournay, in concert with Lieutenant-general Cadogan, caused an attack to be made on the castle of Mortaigne, seated at the conflux of the Schelde and Scarpe. The French garrison, which consisted of about sixty men, made some resistance, but was quickly obliged to surrender prisoners of war; but the next morning the French, by the help of some armed barks from Condé, and a numerous detachment of infantry, retook it; but the Earl of Albemarle, being very sensible of the importance of the place, on the 16th of April caused it to be attacked a second time, and after some time, and with small loss, obliged the French garrison to surrender prisoners of war; and, to make sure of the post, left there 200 men and four pieces of cannon. This was the first action of this campaign, and was of some importance to the allies, as well as a good omen of their fortune during the rest of the campaign.

The French were by no means in a condition to open the campaign as early; they had fatigued themselves all the winter in casting up lines, erecting redoubts, in taking every precaution necessary to secure them against the attacks of an enemy to whom no ordinary fortifications could set bounds. The newly-promoted Marshal Montesquieu commanded in chief; he distributed his troops in the best manner he could. The Chevalier de Luxemburg was encamped near St.

Amand, the marshal himself with thirty battalions and sixty squadrons in the neighbourhood of Lens; nor was it at all doubted but that the forcing of these lines would have caused great effusion of blood.

Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough arrived on the 17th of May at Tournay, where the same day they held a conference with Count Tilly and M. Clairbergen one of the field-deputies of the States, as to the opening of the campaign. In these conferences it was resolved, though that resolution was kept very secret, to attack the French lines. In order to this, the army marched on the 20th at five in the afternoon, in two columns; the right, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, to Pont à Vendin, and the left, under Prince Eugene, to Pont Oby, on the Deule. This march was continued all night, and was so well regulated, that by six next morning the Prince of Wirtemberg and General Cadogan, with a detachment of fifteen battalions and fifty squadrons from the Duke of Marlborough's column, entered the lines without opposition; nay, the French were so careless, that the greatest part of their baggage fell into the hands of this detachment. The whole confederate army immediately passed the lines and marched towards Lens, from whence the enemy decamped in confusion, and retired behind the Scarp, where they took such precautions as seemed to shew at least some inclination for fighting. The Chevalier de Luxembourg with the horse joined the forces under the command of the Marshal de Montesquieu; but, upon the arrival of the allies in sight of them, they retired again in great confusion towards Cambray, the Prince of Hesse Cassel pursuing them and making some prisoners in the rear. The Duke of Marlborough passed the Scarpe that night, and the troops under Prince Eugene marched on the other side of the river, in order to invest Dowaay, which was accordingly done, while the French generals were squabbling amongst themselves; the
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new-made marshal rating the Chevalier de Luxemburg for not joining him, according to his orders; the chevalier retorting on him the scandal of being surprized, notwithstanding his giving him previous advice of the march of the allies.

Before we proceed to the subsequent transactions of this campaign, it is fit to say something of the strength of the confederate army, which was certainly such as might well terrify an enemy much exhausted and always beaten. The right wing, commanded by Prince Eugene, consisted of forty-five battalions and 110 squadrons; the left, under the Duke of Marlborough, of 101 battalions and 161 squadrons; they had 102 field-pieces, twenty mortars, and forty pontons. As to the French army, it is difficult to give any account of it, since as yet it was not assembled, but towards the end of the campaign it was said to consist of 200 battalions and 300 squadrons. At this time, undoubtedly, it was very indifferently conducted, otherwise those lines, which cost so much time and treasure, might have been defended, or at least sold dear; whereas, the very sight of the allies frightened away their guards, and left the prince and duke at liberty to pursue at leisure the scheme they had formed of besieging one of the principal places in French Flanders.

Doway is a very great city, five leagues distant from Cambray, a place of prodigious consequence in respect of its situation on the borders of Hainault and Artois, as well as very considerable from the fair kept there in the month of September, and its woollen manufactures. It was taken from the Spaniards by Louis XIV. in 1667, yielded to him the next year by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and his title confirmed by the subsequent treaties of Nimeguen and Ryfwick: its fortifications, though irregular, cost several millions of livres, and his most christian majesty, at a small distance from it, had erected fort Scarpe, which was both regular and strong. At this time M. Albergotti, a lieutenant-

general, commanded in the place, having under him several officers of distinction, with a garrison of 8000 men.

Whilst the allies were busy investing this place, a detachment from the enemy's garrison in Namur seized a bark coming down the Schelde, having on-board a great part of Prince Eugene's baggage, particularly his silver-plate, 2000 ducats in gold, and a sword set with diamonds presented him by the King of Prussia, valued at 20,000 crowns; all which, by express orders from the French king, were returned to his highness.-- By the 1st of May the place was thoroughly invested, Prince Eugene took up his quarters in a castle between Flines and the fort of Scarpe. The Duke of Marlborough, with the army of observation had his right over-against Vitry, his centre at Torquesne, and his left extended towards Arleux. Two attacks were formed before the place: the one under the command of Prince Anhalt Dessau, general of foot, who had under him two lieutenant-generals and four major-generals; the other under the Prince of Orange, who was also general of foot, and had under him likewise a like number of general officers. The trenches were opened in the night between the fourth and fifth at both attacks. The rector of the English college at Doway and his scholars, to the number of sixty, were, by order of the Duke of Marlborough, conducted safe to Lisle. On the 7th of May the besieged made a vigorous sally with 1000 foot and 200 dragoons. They levelled part of the trenches, cut the greatest part of Sutton's regiment to pieces, took the lieutenant-colonel Gledhill prisoner, and left the major and seventeen commissioned officers dead upon the spot. They likewise disordered a Swiss regiment, killed four captains and a considerable number of private men, but were at last repulsed with considerable loss by General Maccartney. On the 8th, the artillery, consisting of 200 pieces of cannon, arrived in the camp; of these no less
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than fourscore carried balls of twenty-four pounds. On the same day the besiegers worked hard upon their batteries: in the evening several hundred waggon-loads of ammunition arrived in the camp, and all imaginable care was taken for carrying on the siege with vigour.

The court of France thought it now high time for their army to assemble, so that Marshal Montesquieu had orders to draw the troops together with all the expedition imaginable; and, by the middle of May, Marshal Villars arrived, and took the command of an army of 153 battalions and 262 squadrons. He had with him the Chevalier de St. George and Marshal Berwick, that the troops might be encouraged by their presence. Villars presently passed the Schelde and the Lower Scarpe, and threatened so loudly to attack the allies in their posts, that the Duke of Marlborough gave orders to mark a line of battle in the adjoining plain, that on the first notice of their approach his troops might be ready to receive them.

On the 14th, about six in the morning, the batteries being completed, and eighty-eight pieces of cannon and thirty-two mortars being ready to play, they fired with prodigious fury on the town. On the 20th the besiegers made themselves masters, and took post on part of the glacis, but were driven from thence by two sallies. In the night of the 21st, M. d'Albergotti drove the besiegers from a post they had taken on the left; but the Prince of Orange attacked it again about noon, and made himself master of it, notwithstanding the prodigious fire from the town. In the night between the 23d and 24th, M. Albergotti made another sally, in which he did a good deal of mischief, but was at last repulsed with loss. On the 25th he made four sallies, sprung a mine, and caused new ones to be sunk under the posts in most danger. The Prince of Anhalt was this day slightly wounded.

On the 20th of May Prince Eugene and the Duke

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of Marlborough detached a very great body of horse towards Arras, that they might have an exact account of the situation of the country, in case Villars should actually hazard a battle. On the 22d Prince d'Auvergne advanced with twenty-five squadrons nearer Arras, to favour the escape of the Cardinal de Bouillon his uncle, who was fallen into disgrace on the discovery of some intrigues of his with the allies. On the return of these troops, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough made all the necessary dispositions for a battle, and it was resolved in a council of war, that Prince Eugene should command the right at the head of the Imperial troops, the Duke of Marlborough the left with the British forces and those in the pay of Great Britain, and Count Tilly at the head of the troops of the States, and in the pay of the States, in the centre.

On the 30th of May the army of France marched in twelve columns, having powder, ball, and bread, distributed among them for four days. The Marshals Villars and Montesquieu were in the centre, Marshal Berwick in the right, and Marshal d'Arco in the left. They advanced into the plain of Lens in order of battle, and approached within musket-shot of the army of the allies. Marshal Villars, with most of the general officers and a great body of horse, came and reconnoitred the camp of the confederates, after which they held a council of war, in which it was unanimously resolved that it was impossible to attack so numerous an army in so good a camp, upon which, after four days stay in the neighbourhood of the allies, the French marched back to Arras, and, all thoughts of fighting being laid aside, Marshal Berwick set out for Dauphiné to take upon him the command of the army there.-- Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, perceiving that nothing more was intended than to alarm them and disturb the siege, sent back the troops that had been withdrawn from thence, and contented

themselves with taking the necessary precautions not to be surpris'd, without fatiguing the troops under arms.

In the mean time the siege of Doway was carried on with great vigour, and defended with no less obstinacy. M. Albergotti did not suffer a night to pass without making sallies, sometimes with considerable success, and at other times with very considerable loss, particularly on the night of the 25th of May, he had 100 men and 25 officers killed upon the spot; this did not hinder him however on the last day of that month from making another sally, in which he burnt the villages of Derchy, Sains, Nazieres, Fieren, and Pont à Rache, took General Fagel's baggage, and a great quantity of cattle, with which they returned into the town. From fort Scarpe there were likewise several sallies made, which did a great deal of mischief.

On the 17th the Duke of Marlborough went with Count Tilly to the post of Bioche, in the neighbourhood of Vitry, on which his grace had good reason to doubt the French had some design; he therefore reinforced it with eighty men, and at the same time directed the commanding officer to defend himself to the last extremity, assuring him that he should be supported in time; however, about nine at night, on the first approach of the enemy, he surrendered himself, two captains, two lieutenants, two ensigns, and 150 men, prisoners of war. But the French, finding it impracticable to maintain that post, abandoned it in the morning, after having done some mischief to the sluice, which the allies, on repossessing it, quickly repaired.--- To shew how politely war was carried on in those days, we shall just mention, that, the same morning, the generals of the French army came with about 200 officers to take a view of the inundation of the allies on the other side of the Scarpe, between that river and Bouchain; and, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel happening to be there, Marshal Villars sent to know, whether he would give him leave to salute him?

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The prince, having given his consent, advanced with some officers to meet the marshal, and told him he was very glad of the opportunity of being acquainted with him. They exchanged several compliments; and M. de Villars presented to his highness Marshals Berwick, d'Arco, and Montesquieu, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Pretender. At presenting the latter, he said to the prince, "This is the Chevalier de St. George;" adding, with a smile, "You know, sir, well enough who he is." Villars, observing that six squadrons were drawn up pretty near, asked his highness, why those horse were there; and being answered, that it was out of respect and civility to him, he replied, "that he was very well acquainted with those troops and their gallantry." He invited his highness to come to his camp and honour him with his presence at dinner; adding that he would command his army to their arms, and entertain him with a sight of it; but the prince answered, he would not accept of his compliment at present, but there might happen another opportunity; concluding, "that it only depended on the King of France shortly to procure the same." They hereupon parted with mutual civilities; the Prince retiring to his post, and the French generals to their camp.

The siege of Doway being in a fair way, on the 22d of June the trenches were opened before fort Scarpe. By the 25th of June things were brought to the last extremity, so that the garrison of Doway thought fit to beat the chamade about two in the afternoon; the hostages were exchanged shortly after; and, though there was some dispute at first about the including fort Scarpe in the capitulation, yet it was not long before matters were adjusted, and M. Albergotti agreed to surrender the town and fort at the same time. The articles of capitulation were signed on the 26th; and on the 29th M. Albergotti marched out at the head of his garrison, which consisted of 4527 men, having in a siege of fifty-two days, wherein he made thirty-two
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fallies, lost about 3000 men killed and wounded. While the garrison were on their march, General Albergotti came back and dined with the Duke of Marlborough, as he had the day of the capitulation with the Prince of Orange. General Hompesch took possession of the town with one Saxon and five Dutch battalions. M. des Roques, engineer-general of the States, was appointed governor of fort Scarpe, and took possession thereof immediately. The confederates found in Doway forty pieces of brass cannon, 200 pieces of iron cannon, eight mortars, a considerable quantity of ammunition and small arms, but little or no provisions. As to the loss which the allies sustained in this siege, the French pretend that it fell little short of 13,000 men; whereas the list published by our historians do not make it exceed 8000 men killed and wounded: of these the English account stands thus, killed 570, wounded 1337; a loss so great, that there was no occasion for its being exaggerated. M. de Albergotti certainly made a very gallant defence, and as a foldier deserved very well of his prince; but he acted a little tyrannically towards the inhabitants of Doway; for finding, at the beginning of the siege, that his garrison would be streightened for provisions, he obliged every house-keeper, upon pain of death, to bring in whatever he had provided for his family to the public magazines, giving them assignments on the king when the siege should be over. He coined his own plate into money, as did also the governor; the other officers were likewise very forward in distinguishing themselves, and in consequence thereof they were all rewarded by the king in a particular manner: M. de Albergotti had a blue ribbon sent him, and was likewise appointed governor of Saar Louis.

The confederate armies remained a few days in their respective camps before Doway. On the 10th of July both armies marched; but were soon obliged to halt by reason of the badness of the roads and the heavy

rains. On the 12th they marched again, and encamped at Villers Bruin, with the Scarpe before them. Marshal Villars in the mean while disposed his troops in such a manner that the confederates found it impracticable to attack him, or to besiege Arras or Cambray: it was likewise dangerous to attempt Valenciennes, Bouchain, or Maubeuge; but Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, and Ypres, all lay open to their arms. For some days, however, the armies were so encamped, that the soldiers conversed freely with each other, having no very broad river between them. Things did not continue so long: the generals of the allies having caused a new train of heavy artillery to advance from Ghent, with a prodigious supply of ammunition of all sorts, and the engineers in garrison towns being directed to join the army in order to supply the places of such as had been wounded in the last siege, they were quickly in readiness to form a new siege, and accordingly that of Bethune was resolved on.

Bethune is a place of very great importance in the earldom of Artois; though it is not very large, yet by its situation it is very strong, and its fortifications tolerably regular. It has six bastions; it has also an old castle on the west side with some outworks and double covered ways; so that it was very capable of making a long defence. It is seated on the little river of Biette, three leagues from Aire, six from Lisle, as many from Doway, and five from Arras. It was taken by the French in the year 1645, and confirmed to them by the peace at Pyrennees in 1659. At this time M. de Puy Vauban, lieutenant-general and nephew to the great Marshal de Vauban, was governor; and, if he had been provided in every respect as well as he was in point of a garrison, the French are of opinion that he would have held the place out much longer than he did; as it was, he held it out much longer than any body expected, and longer than any place of the same force was ever held before. In the night between the 14th

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and 15th the place was invested by thirty battalions and eighteen squadrons, under the command of Generals Fagel and Schulemburg; the horse were commanded by Lieutenant-general Wood. The troops worked on the lines of circumvallation till the 23d. In the night between that and the 24th they opened the trenches at two attacks, that under General Fagel was on the side of the gate of Arras, where there was but one covered way, and the other before the gate of Aire, where there was but one covered way also. The night between the 24th and 25th, M. de Vauban made one of the most vigorous sallies we find any account of during the war: two Prussian regiments were forced from their posts; and 600 or 700 men were killed on both sides. Indeed this gentleman made a defence not only obstinate, but conducted with such art and skill as demonstrated how worthy a pupil he had been of that great engineer his uncle. On the 18th of August General Schulemburg had designed to attack the covered way, but was obliged to put it off till the next day, when, a reinforcement arriving in the camp, he performed it, and made himself master of the post after a very bloody engagement, in which the engineers particularly suffered. General Fagel on the other side proceeded by sap, with great diligence; and General Schulemburg, battering the place in breach from his attack, began to make the necessary preparations for passing the fosse, which was remarkably deep and broad, and for attacking a ravelin and counterguard; but M. de Vauban, considering the weakness of his garrison, the scarcity of provisions, the wideness of the breaches, and the want they were in of bullets and flints, thought fit to beat the chamade, and hung out two white flags, the one at the great breach of the castle, the other at the ravelin. When this was done, abundance of people repaired to the counterscarp, among the rest some French officers; a little after M. de Vauban himself came thither, and General Schulemburg immediately

advanced to meet him, and they talked together with a great deal of freedom and civility, till an accident put them all in confusion. M. de Vauban having hung out his flags on the side of General Schulemberg's attacks, where the breach was made, General Fagel, who had carried his attack no farther than the pallisades, conceived his honour interested in this business, because the chamade was not beat on his side, and therefore he gave notice to M. de Vauban, that, if all the honour of the siege was to be given to General Schulemberg, he would take no notice of what might be agreed between them, but would continue to fire from his attack, notwithstanding the suspension of arms. Schulemberg and Vauban were not a little surpris'd at Fagel's nicety : Schulemberg observed, that very possibly that gentleman might doubt of the conquest of the place, if he had it not in his power to inform the States-general his masters, that the hostages were exchanged ; he therefore intreated M. de Vauban to go through all the forms in order to quiet M. Fagel, which the French governor did, his circumstances not allowing him to stand upon punctilios. On the 29th the capitulation was signed at General Fagel's quarters, where Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, and the States deputies, dined with M. de Vauban. The next day the garrison marched out with two pieces of cannon and all marks of honour : it was reduced to about 1500 men, 2000 having been killed and wounded during the siege, which continued thirty five days open trenches. The allies had about 3500 men killed and wounded before it, a prodigious number, considering how small a place Bethune was, and how little such a defence as this was expected. The allies sent three battalions into the place, under the command of Major-general Keppel, brother to the Earl of Albemarle, to whom the government was given.

A little before the surrender of Bethune a very brisk action happened between the advanced guards of Prince Eugene

Eugene and M. de Villars. His highness's right wing making a forage on the 24th of August, under a guard of 500 horse and 1000 Danish and Hessian foot, Villars, having notice of this, sent the Marquis de Broglie with 500 horse to reconnoitre them, giving him express orders to attempt nothing till himself with fifty squadrons should be at hand to support him; but M. de Broglie, thinking the escort too weak to resist him, attacked them briskly, pushed the squadrons for a considerable space, and took thirty horses; but, advancing beyond the corner of a wood, he perceived that it was filled with grenadiers, upon which he retired, and ordered his dragoons to dismount, in order to attack the foot in the wood; but they were scarcely off their horses before the squadrons of the allies came thundering upon them, being reinforced by the piquet guard from Prince Eugene's camp. Broglie, now ordering his men to mount, turned the horses he had taken loose, resolving to retire as fast as possible; but the grenadiers, making a discharge, killed him 100 men on the spot, and made a colonel, two captains, and 200 or 300 more, prisoners. At that instant M. de Villars advanced with sixteen squadrons, which gave M. de Broglie and his people time to retire, which the marshal likewise did with some precipitation; this affair having like to have brought on an engagement, which Villars by no means sought.

The Duke of Marlborough's motions giving Villars to apprehend that he intended to make himself master of the post of St. Venant, he sent thither M. de Selves, with four battalions, and, though the place was only pallisadoed, obliged the allies to besiege it in form; he likewise reinforced the garrison of Aire with six battalions, sent the Chevalier de Luxembourg with the brigade of Poitou and a regiment of dragoons to Valenciennes, not doubting, but on the surrender of Bethune some of these places would be visited by the allies, in which he was not at all mistaken. The trenches

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were no sooner filled up before Bethune, than the generals of the allies began to think of new conquests. Prince Eugene was at first of opinion to attack Marshal Villars in his camp; with this view he came with a great body of horse to take a view of it on the 31st of August, which the marshal permitted without the least interruption; and his highness was so well satisfied with that general's dispositions, that when he returned he abandoned his former design, and consented to besiege St. Venant and Aire, in order to secure the navigation of the Lys. In order to the execution of this scheme, the armies marched from their respective camps of Villars, Brulin, and Rebreuvre, on the 2d of September. Eugene extended his right to Treeblanche and Lingem; Marlborough fixed his left at Divion, his grace taking his quarters in the castle of Liere; eighteen squadrons, ten battalions, with twelve pieces of cannon, brought up the rear, which M. de Villars did not think fit to attack.

On the 4th, 2000 horse, under the command of Count Lagnasco, a lieutenant-general in King Augustus's service, supported by six battalions, passed the Lys at St. Quintin, and invested Aire on that side; the two armies marched in the afternoon, Prince Eugene taking up his quarters at the castle of Blesfel, and the duke his at the monastery of St. Andre. On the 6th, Aire was entirely invested, and the Prince of Anhalt Dessau took upon him the command of the siege, having under him four lieutenant-generals, eight major-generals, eight brigadiers, and forty battalions; twenty-six from the army of the Duke of Marlborough and fourteen from that of Prince Eugene; the Earl of Albemarle with forty squadrons covered them.

Aire, or Arien, is a very considerable place in the earldom of Artois; it is seated on the river Lys, and is very strong by nature, having on three sides a flat marsh, so that no approaches can be made but on the fourth side only; as to the advantages it derived from
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art, they likewise were great; it had ten bastions, as many half-moons, two horn-works, and, on the side by which it is most approachable, the strong fort of St. James's, which had four bastions, two half-moons, and a deep ditch. It was taken by the French in the year 1676, and, like most other places, had received great improvements from the skill of their engineers. The Marquis de Goebriant, lieutenant-general, commanded therein, having a good garrison with a numerous body of miners, cannoneers, bombardiers, pioneers, &c. under the command of M. de Valiere, commandant of the artillery.

The trenches were opened before Aire on the 12th of September, at two attacks, one on the side of St. Quintin, the other on the side of Lambre. The 21st, at night, the besieged made a sally with 400 fusileers and 200 workmen, but they were obliged to retreat with great loss. On the 23d the besiegers attacked a redoubt, and carried it after a short resistance: M. de Goebriant was at dinner when this happened. M. d'Audencourt colonel of the regiment Lorrain desired a detachment of 200 grenadiers to attempt the recovery of it; it was accordingly granted him, and he immediately made a sally, but, being obliged to pass under the fire of the confederate batteries and parallel, his detachment was disabled before it could reach the redoubt, and himself had his thigh shattered all to pieces. In the night between the 28th and 29th the besieged made a signal by firing three pieces of cannon; General Grumkau, who commanded in the trenches, thereupon gave orders for the troops at their respective posts to be upon their guard, but before those orders could be well distributed 1200 men from the town broke into the trenches with such rapidity, that they carried all before them, demolished part of the works, killed 200 or 300 men, amongst whom were twenty-nine officers, but were at last repulsed with considerable slaughter. The next morning M. de Goebriant
sent

sent out a drum to desire leave to bury their dead; but, it being believed that he had something else in view, this was denied him. In the night between 4th and 5th of October, the besiegers attacked the redoubt which covered the causeway of Bethune; they were repulsed the first time with great loss; they attacked it however an hour after, and were repulsed again; about seven in the morning they attacked it a third time, and carried it; but, as it was covered on the side of the town, they lost between 100 and 200 men, as well by the fire of small arms as of the artillery, and amongst them several officers. General Effren was wounded, and Count Dhona had his head carried away by a cannon-ball: they had also three engineers killed and two wounded. Never were people more fatigued, nor did ever any besieged place make a more terrible fire. As soon as the besiegers lodged themselves any where, their lodgment was blown up, and when they established themselves again on its ruins, M. Goebriant sent such clouds of bombs, carcasses, and large stones, as made them glad to leave them. To add to their mortification, it was about this time discovered that the engineers of the allies had, by some means or other, been drawn to make their attacks in the very strongest places, where themselves were most exposed, and the enemy most covered; but this was particularly detrimental to the engineers themselves, of whom in the night between the 8th and the 9th no less than three were killed and eight dangerously wounded. On the 15th the besieged made a sally, burnt some of the bridges, and drove the besiegers from a lodgment they had made, which was however retaken the next night, in which a singular accident happened: six English officers being together in the trenches, one bullet from the place carried away nine of their legs; the same night, however, the besiegers finished four bridges, passed the avant fossée, and lodged themselves in two places; in the night of the 16th they attacked and made themselves

masters

masters of the saliant angle of the covered-way, after a very obstinate dispute; but in the morning M. Goebriant made a sally and drove them out of it with still greater loss. On the 17th they attempted it again, and were again repulsed. In the night between the 21st and 22d, the besiegers finished five new bridges, but the great rains and the prodigious fire from the place hindered them from making any use of them. On the 28th, the besiegers at the left attack lodged themselves on a place of arms on the covered-way, but on the right they were not able to advance at all, on account of the prodigious inundations, occasioned by the heavy rains which fell about this time. On the 30th, the besiegers attacked the counterscarp and the bonnet on the side of the gate of Arras; they made a lodgment there after a considerable loss, but before they were settled M. de Goebriant sent them all into the air, and at the same time made a sally into the trenches with such fury, that the besiegers were obliged to abandon their whole design, having lost between 500 and 600 grenadiers. The confederate generals however were resolved to carry the post, and on the 1st of November made a good lodgment for 150 men, after a most obstinate resistance, M. Goebriant disputing every inch of ground, and taking care to sprinkle it well with the blood of those that took it from him. On the 2d, at night, the necessary dispositions were made for attacking the two angles of the covered-way and the place of arms, 800 grenadiers and 400 fusileers were appointed for that purpose. They attacked the enemy twice with great bravery, and at last made themselves masters of those posts, and made a lodgment in each of them; but M. de Goebriant, springing a mine, blew up 100 men, and, sallying immediately after, with the greatest part of his garrison, drove the grenadiers, fusileers, and workmen, from all the posts; the same hot work continued for several days after, so that the besiegers were forced to

abandon one of their attacks. On the 8th of November, however, the saps being joined, and the besieged observing that the allies were making all the necessary preparations for storming the place, M. de Goebriant sent for the magistrates of the town, and told them, that, though he was still in a condition to defend the town, and might, after all, withdraw into the fort; yet he thought it his duty, in compassion to them who had behaved so well, to capitulate for their preservation; he accordingly ordered the chamade to be beat in the evening of the 8th, after having sustained a siege of fifty-eight days open trenches. Hostages were the next day exchanged, and the capitulation settled in the evening. The articles were, in substance, That the garrison should march out with all the usual marks of honour, four pieces of cannon and two mortars; that such as desired to quit the city should have three months allowed them to dispose of their effects; that the sick and wounded should remain in the place till they were recovered; that the garrison should be allowed six covered waggons; deserters to be delivered up on both sides, prisoners exchanged, hostages left for the payment of the debts of the garrison, and a faithful discovery made of all the mines, with a just account of what was contained in the magazines. In respect to M. de Goebriant, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough made him a present of two pieces of cannon, and allowed him a day more than was agreed by the capitulation to refresh himself and his men. On the 12th of October, he marched out at the head of 3628 men, leaving about 1500 sick and wounded in the place. His garrison was greatly reduced by the warm actions and mighty fatigues which it had sustained. The allies lost at least 7000 men before this place, of which, as soon as it was evacuated, the Count of Nassau Woudenbourg was appointed governor, and immediately entered it at the head of eight battalions. His most christian majesty, according to custom, rewarded

warded all the officers who distinguished themselves in this memorable siege: to the Marquis de Goebriant he sent the blue ribband, the rest of the officers were gratified either with pensions or presents; and at the same time all the world did justice to their valour and conduct, manifested in the long defence of this place.

At the same time that Aire was besieged, namely, on the 6th of September, the Prince of Orange invested St. Venant, and gave orders for turning the stream of the Robeck, by an inundation of which little river the place was chiefly defended. St. Venant is a very small place, not thoroughly fortified, but what fortifications it had were of a regular form, viz. that of a hexagon; the waters of the river Lys and of the rivulet before-mentioned, form such an inundation round it on all sides but one, that except on that it could not be approached, by which means it became absolutely necessary to drain these waters in order to open the trenches before it: 4000 workmen were employed to this purpose, covered by six battalions, and they wrought so hard that the waters quickly abated, and, as appeared from an intercepted letter from Brigadier Selves, he himself began to have small hopes of making a long defence. On the sixteenth in the evening the trenches were opened before St. Venant, within 150 perches of the counterscarp, a thing unheard of before; the nearness had one inconvenience, viz. that they were presently discovered, and, the garrison making a prodigious fire, 150 men were either killed or wounded; they drew however a parallel that night of 180 perches, the night following they perfected their works. In the night between the 18th and 19th the besiegers drew a line of 140 perches from the left of the parallel to the point of the ditch, which surrounds the salient angle of the counterscarp, where they made a lodgment; they began at the same time to work on a battery of six pieces of cannon, which fired on the place the 21st in the morning. The night

following, and the 22d in the evening, they carried on their works to the point of the counter-guard which covered the first counterscarp. In the night between the 22d and 23d the besieged made a sally with seven companies of grenadiers; at first they had some success, they obliged the workmen to retreat, over-turned the gabions, and filled up part of a trench; but the troops who were ordered to support the workmen repulsed them in their turn, and obliged them to retire into the town. The next night they sallied again, under the command of M. Beringa Dugna; he behaved with great conduct and resolution, and would probably have done a great deal of mischief, if he had not received a shot in the head, of which he died. The besieged took care to light fires, which exposed the trenches so much to view, and enabled them to fire with such exactness, that they could work but very slow. In the night of the 25th the besiegers passed two ditches, and made a lodgment on the saliant angle; the 26th they passed the ditch, and, a breach being made in the counter-guard, they attacked it the 28th, and the saliant angle of the second counterscarp. The besieged defended themselves bravely in both, repulsing the troops of the allies twice; but, a bomb falling in one of the principal magazines of the place, Brigadier Selves found himself reduced to extremity; he beat the chamade the next day, and the day following, being the 30th of September, the capitulation was signed, and the garrison marched out with their arms and baggage in order to be conducted to Arras. The French gave out that the allies lost 1500 men before the place, though its fortifications were but of earth; but without doubt this account is too large, the allies themselves own between 900 and 1000 killed and wounded.

M. le Blanc, intendant of Ypres, having given intelligence to the Count de Villars, who commanded in that place, that the allies were sending a great convoy by the Lys, he detached M. de Ravignan, marshal-de-

camp,

camp, at the head of nineteen companies of grenadiers, 1500 fusileers, and the regiment of dragoons commanded by M. de Chaumont, to attack it. M. de Ravignan marched all night through the wood of St. Eloy, passed within sight of Menin, and within half musket-shot of Courtray, and arrived about two in the afternoon on the banks of the Lys. Thirty hussars, whom he had detached to make discoveries, rejoined him here, with advice that the allies were in order of battle at St. Eloyvive, and had their boats in the rear. Upon this he hastened the march of his troops, and, while his infantry was forming, advanced at the head of the dragoons. The Earl of Athlone commanded the escort of this convoy, which consisted of 1300 foot and 600 horse. He extended his left to an impracticable morass in the neighbourhood of the Lys, his front being covered by a little meadow, cut by three ditches, and had posted his cavalry on the right where there was no entrenchment. M. de Ravignan, having well considered the disposition of the troops of the allies, resolved to attack them, which he performed with great bravery and conduct. The Earl of Athlone did every thing that could be expected from a brave man and an experienced officer; but M. de Ravignan, by the knowledge he had of the country, brought his grenadiers to flank the cavalry, while his regiment of dragoons attacked them in front. Some hundreds of the Earl of Athlone's infantry were killed and drowned, 600 were taken prisoners, among which were the earl himself, a brigadier, a lieutenant-colonel, and thirty-six other officers, 300 or 400 horses were likewise taken, with all the cattle belonging to the bilanders, which, being loaded with the spoil, were sent away to Arras. The next thing resolved on was to destroy all the ammunition on-board those vessels; ten grenadiers were drawn out for this purpose, and after having taken all the precautions they could, such as stopping their ears, and throwing themselves flat

flat on the earth, after they had disposed the trains and set fire to them, they waited for the blow, which followed in a minute or two, and cost two of them their lives: the shock was so violent that it threw down the houses in the village of St. Eloy, the ground shook as far as Valenciennes and St. Quintin, where there were several windows broke; the Lys was divided and ran in two different channels; 380,000 lbs. weight of powder was destroyed, with some cannon and mortars, an immense quantity of balls, bombs, carcasses and grenades, together with great store of brandy, &c. The noise of this affair quickly reached the camps of the allies, and the adjacent garrisons, so that various detachments were sent to look for M. de Ravignan. As his troops were terribly fatigued and embarrassed with booty and prisoners, they could not march very fast, but the wisdom of their commander supplied this defect; he chose such roads as would not admit a great body of horse to act, and, keeping his regiment of dragoons and a choice detachment of grenadiers in his rear, he arrived safe at Ypres on the night of the 20th of September, after having performed one of the most soldier-like actions in the whole war. The allies were by this accident obliged to have recourse to the magazines in Tournay and Lisle, from whence there were immediately sent 300 waggon-loads of provisions and ammunition, under an escort of 1500 horse, while in the mean time vast quantities of powder, bombs, ball, &c. were sent from Ghent by the Scheld to Tournay, and a vast number of workmen employed, covered by a strong detachment of horse and foot, in weighing the cannon, mortars, bombs, &c. which M. de Ravignan had sunk; for, till this was done, the navigation of the Lys was quite ruined.---Thus ended the campaign in Flanders.---The allies broke up from before Aire on the 15th of November, and marched directly to the plains of Lisle, from whence such detachments were made as were to form

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form the garrisons of that city, Tournay, and other places; and then, satisfied with the reduction of Doway, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, they went into winter-quarters. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene quitted the army the 16th of November, and after visiting Tournay, Ghent, and Brussels, they arrived on the 28th of the same month at the Hague. Their highnesses remained there a considerable time, and had several private conferences with the grand pensionary, as well as several public ones with the foreign ministers and the deputies of the States. On the 11th of December Prince Eugene set out for Vienna, and on the 23d of the same month the Duke of Marlborough embarked for England; on the 28th he came to London, and, entering the city in the evening, the houses were illuminated, and the people testified by the loudest acclamations the love and respect they had for his grace; though some time before they had shewn great marks of affection towards those who were known to be no friends to the Duke of Marlborough, but on the contrary were prosecuting, with all imaginable vigour, such steps as were likely to bring on his disgrace. His reception from the queen was as kind and favourable as he could wish, though he did not find the situation of things at court very agreeable to him or his interests. To explain this, we shall by and by give a succinct account of what happened at home while his grace was in the field; our present business is to complete the military and naval history of this year.

The emperor was very desirous that the Elector of Hanover should have commanded the army on the Rhine, as heretofore, for which reason he confirmed him in the office of arch-treasurer of the empire; but his electoral highness was so thoroughly wearied of being at the head of half-battalions, ill clothed and worse paid, that he desired to be excused from shewing that complaisance which he had hitherto done, for a court on whose promises there was so little dependance.

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He alleged also that his presence was necessary in his own dominions, on account of the war in the north, which had been rekindled by the King of Denmark, the consequence of which could not be foreseen; upon which the emperor gave the command of the army to Prince Eugene, which was matter of form only; for soon after a patent was expedited, granting the command to Lieutenant-general Gronsfeld, who was directed to conform himself to the orders sent him by Prince Eugene, who continued to serve in Flanders, as we have seen. The Marshal de Harcourt had the command of the French army, and the Marshal de Bezons went to serve under him; the former, finding his health very much impaired, retired very early to Paris, and the two armies, after observing each other till the month of November, went into winter-quarters without doing or attempting to do any thing.

His most christian majesty was this year under some apprehensions that the Duke of Savoy would make a new visit to Dauphiny or Provence, attended by an English fleet. He sent therefore the Duke of Berwick, who had this year served under Marshal Villars in Flanders, to command the troops in those provinces, into which the Piedmontese and German troops attempted an irruption under the command of Count Dhaun, but the count, after an unsuccessful campaign, understanding the Duke of Berwick had sent the greatest part of his army towards the frontiers of Spain, thought of retiring quietly into Piedmont; but the Duke of Savoy, receiving private information that bread for three weeks was baking at Grenoble, and that the Duke of Berwick had countermanded the march of his forces, apprehended that general had a design upon Exiles, and immediately sent his orders for the Piedmontese troops to march back again; of which when the Duke of Berwick was informed, he put a stop to the baking of bread, and ordered his forces to continue their march, having nothing more in view than that his royal high-

ness's troops should have their belly full of marching. After this his grace returned to Paris, where he was very kindly received by the French king, who was pleased to tell him in his drawing-room, "That he had not either lost fame or ground since he commanded in Dauphiny."

We are now to pass into Spain, where several great events happened this year, which some have reckoned the warmest of the war.

King Charles, as he had pressed his allies to make their utmost efforts in Spain this year, so he was no less assiduous on his part for their having every thing in readiness for acting early, knowing that almost all the misfortunes which had hitherto befallen his arms, were owing to the late coming of his troops into the field, which gave the armies of the two crowns continual opportunities of taking their measures and making conquests before he was in any condition to oppose them. In the beginning of the month of February, therefore, he reviewed all his troops, and setting out from Barcelona visited Gironne, Vich, Veiga, Cardona and Mauresa. He gave orders for making Balaguer a place of arms, and fortifying all the little places in that neighbourhood. Count Staremberg, who commanded Charles's troops, sent his orders to all the general officers to have their respective corps ready to go into the field by the 12th of March, and also sent a courier to Finale, to press the immediate departure of the grand convoy, with provisions and ammunition for Barcelona. His majesty found himself in a capacity of drawing into the field between eighteen and twenty thousand of his troops, and the supplies he expected by the beginning of the year were to encrease them to thirty thousand; and at the head of such a body he doubted not of making the conquest of Arragon.

In the beginning of May, Philip V. took the field, with an army composed entirely of Spaniards. As the French king could no longer assist his grandson,

he had been obliged to do in part what his enemies had demanded at Gertruydenberg, to abandon the cause of Philip, by ordering his troops from Spain to his own defence. Philip was likewise deprived of a general as well as troops from France. The Duke of Orleans, by whom his tottering condition had been somewhat recovered, instead of continuing to command his armies, was become his enemy. He even entertained hopes of supplanting him in the crown. The Spanish army was formed on the borders of Catalonia, near Lerida, where Philip joined it, and passed the Segro with an intent to have besieged Balaguer; but the waters of that river rising suddenly, and carrying away his bridges, his army was thereby greatly distressed for two days. Count Staremburg, being inferior in number, kept his troops upon the defensive, and, on King Philip's marching farther into the country, took possession of his camp near Balaguer. The Spanish army often provoked that of the allies to an engagement, but Count Staremburg was one of those generals who would fight only when himself was in humour, and not to satisfy other people. On the 27th of July, King Philip marched towards the Noguera with intention to pass that river near Alfaras, but Don Miguel de Sello, and Don Pedro de Ronquillo, whom he had sent with a great body of horse and dragoons to take possession of a pass, found it occupied by twenty-seven squadrons of the allies. King Charles having already passed the Noguera, and being in full march with all his army, the king being informed of this sent to the Marquis of Villadarias to march that way with all the cavalry; but the allies, firing from a battery of five pieces of cannon, killed Don Joseph de Figuera, colonel of the regiment of Medina Sidonia, and several other officers. They then charged the half-formed Spanish horse, broke both their lines, and forced them to retire so precipitately from the hills, that, running on the foot, they put them into confusion, so that in a short space the

the whole army, notwithstanding King Philip's presence, fled without order towards Lerida, leaving part of their baggage to be pillaged by the victors. The Marquis de Vallejo, one of the lords of the bed-chamber to the king, performed an action that day worthy of immortal honour: observing that twenty-seven squadrons of the horse of the allies were coming down upon the broken foot, he took a resolution to sacrifice himself and his regiment of dragoons to preserve the army from being totally ruined. He divided his regiment into five pelotons, and, on a full trot, fell upon the twenty-seven squadrons sword in hand, which had the effect desired, though it cost most of his men their lives. The King of Spain lost here fifteen hundred men, amongst whom was the brave Duke de Saerno, and two hundred officers. General Verboom was wounded and made prisoner. The allies had about two hundred men killed, most of them by the Marquis Vallejo's dragoons, among whom were the Earl of Rochfort and Count Nassau; the Lords Stanhope and Capel were wounded. Such was the action of Almanara, which was not a little fatal to King Philip's affairs, inasmuch as it discouraged his troops and obliged him to recal the Marquis de Bay from Estramadura.

Count Staremborg was extremely pressed by King Charles to march into Arragon, but he would not be persuaded to stir till he had recovered the posts which King Philip had behind him, whereby his communication might have been cut off with Barcelona. This being effected, he marched with his army, which consisted of about twenty-four thousand men, towards Saragossa. King Philip, who was at this time much indisposed, having left a good garrison in Lerida, marched the same way. The allies, having passed the Cinca, advanced towards Fraga to hinder the passage of King Philip; but, finding he had already passed, detached twenty-eight squadrons to fall upon

his rear, which they did near Peñalva with great vigour. The Spaniards purposely broke, and, being distracted with the reproaches they had met with for the business of Almanara, charged these squadrons when they were in the heart of them with such fury, that they cut to pieces seven hundred men, and amongst them a great many officers. They lost themselves three hundred, but this did them little service; for the next day, having no bread, the soldiers were so miserably fatigued that numbers fell down in the road and were made prisoners. The king, growing worse and worse, was constrained to retire to Saragossa, and leave the command of the army to the Marquis de Bay. The marquis immediately caused it to pass in review, and found that of thirty-two thousand there were but seventeen thousand left, and of these not fifteen thousand were able to do duty, the rest being much fitter for an hospital than for the field. An officer told the marquis that it was unfortunate he should be called from making conquests in Portugal to risque all his honour with so feeble an army: to which the Marquis answered, "Sir, I am sorry for my king and country's misfortunes; but as for honour I account that the greatest to be thought worthy of the king's commands where things are in the worst order, and, if I cannot restore them, I shall fall with great satisfaction in endeavouring to do it."

On the 19th both armies passed the night under arms in order of battle, the twentieth at break of day they began to cannonade each other. The Duke de Avre was killed early in the morning by a cannon-shot, which greatly dispirited the Spanish troops. Count Staremberg sent King Charles away before he would engage. He then disposed his troops for the engagement. The right was given to General Stanhope, the left to General Belcastel; Staremberg acted himself in the centre, and had a very strong body of reserve. The army of Philip had Messieurs de Ame-

zaga

zaga and Mahoni in the right, Don Joseph Armandaritz and Don Pedro Ronquillo in the left, the Counts de Meroda and Lancarota in the centre, the Marquis de Bay commanding in chief. The right of the Spanish army fell upon the left of the allies, and broke their cavalry, but M. Mahoni, advancing with his squadrons too far, could never afterwards return: he made two attempts to force the squadrons between him and the Spanish troops, but in vain. The Marquis de Bay saw the mistake, and endeavoured to remedy it; but the troops he sent marched so slowly that Count Staremberg's troops took them in flank, and, the disorder growing continually greater, the allies bore down all before them. M. de Mahoni, perceiving that all was over, marched with his horse to escort the king, who lay sick of a fever at a house half a mile distant from the camp. The Marquis de Bay retired as well as he could to Tudela, and Prince Tserclafs de Tilly carried off a considerable body to Grana. The allies remained masters of the field of battle, the Spaniards having lost two thousand men killed and wounded, and fifteen hundred made prisoners. Staremberg resolved immediately to push his conquest to the utmost, and in the mean time took possession of Saragossa, and began to change the magistrates, and to establish magazines, that he might be in no danger of having his rear attacked in case of any misfortune. He also sent a great part of the prisoners with a strong escort to Barcelona, and gave the necessary orders for fortifying the little places in the neighbourhood; after which he took the road of Madrid.

In the late action the British troops under General Stanhope acquired great honour. It was remarked, that neither of the two princes who disputed the crown of Spain was present at the battle, though both were within reach of their respective armies.

Philip was now in a desperate condition, his army excessively weakened, abundance of his best officers killed,

killed, himself obliged to fly, though in a very bad state of health, and his competitor at the head of a triumphant army in full march towards his capital. The inhabitants of Saragossa shewed an extraordinary and unexpected affection for his person, furnishing his troops with three days provision, and himself with whatever carriages he wanted. Count Louvigny, governor of Lerida, having received advice of the loss of the battle of Saragossa, and that the prisoners were sent back to Barcelona, marched in the night with a great detachment of his garrison, fell upon the escort, and recovered seven hundred men. As for the rest of the prisoners made in that battle, eight hundred of them enlisted in the troops of King Charles, but deserted again as soon as they got into Castile, and persuaded a great many Catalans and Germans to go along with them. Three thousand recruits marched from Andalusia to join the army of the Marquis de Bay, and the consulate of Seville advanced King Philip three hundred thousand crowns for his pressing occasions. He was however forced to quit Madrid, having first caused the Duke de Medina Celi, whom he had imprisoned at Segovia, to be sent under a guard of horse to Fontarabia. He then resolved to retire with the queen and Prince of Asturias to Valladolid, the ancient residence of the kings of Castile. His majesty when he left Madrid summoned all the councils, wherein he told them that his affairs were in a very bad condition, that he did not pretend to constrain any body to follow him, and that in his desperate situation his sole resource was in the hearts of his subjects. This did not hinder, however, great numbers of persons of quality from accompanying him, so that when he quitted Madrid he had a thousand coaches in his train: almost all the inhabitants followed for three leagues, wishing their majesties a happy return, and obliging them to stop several times that they might weep over the Prince of Asturias, who sat in his mother's lap sick

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of an ague. King Charles entered Madrid on the 4th of October; but the people expressed very little joy for his arrival, on the contrary they would not so much as pick up the money that was thrown in the streets, but shut their doors, and obstinately refused to put out lights. In the evening a sort of play was acted, wherein there were certain panegyrics on the house of Austria and on the king; but the unfortunate author of this piece was found stabbed in the streets the next day.

The religious enthusiasm of the Spaniards, together with a rooted aversion to the house of Austria, by whom they had been oppressed for near two centuries, was of greater service to the cause of Philip than their arms. They considered Charles III. as a prince imposed on them by heretics; and their attachment to his rival rose in proportion to his misfortunes. General Stanhope, who had possessed himself of Madrid, was better calculated to defeat an enemy than to gain the affections of the vanquished. The army lived at large upon the people, without order, without moderation, and without discipline. They raised contributions on private persons; they pillaged the churches, and sold publicly the utensils of the altar. The ravages of the allies, combining with the obstinacy of the Spaniards, created such a dearth of provisions in Castile, that seventeen thousand men, the number of which the victors consisted, found themselves incapable of subsisting in the heart of the kingdom.

In this desperate state of Philip's affairs, the Spanish nobility who adhered to his cause, sensible that these misfortunes were occasioned by the army wanting a commander who was capable of acting against Staremberg, wrote in a body to Louis XIV. entreating he would send them the Duke de Vendome. That general, who ever since the close of the campaign of 1708 had quitted all public business, accepted the flattering invitation, and immediately set out for Spain. His presence gave a new turn to affairs in that kingdom. He was
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the idol of the soldiers; his influence therefore presently procured a considerable army to be assembled; to provide for which, the whole kingdom cheerfully contributed free gifts. Vendome knew very well how to avail himself of the ardour which he had excited; he drove the conquerors from the capital, and replaced the fugitive king. A large reinforcement of French troops arrived from the Duke of Berwick in Dauphiny; so that his army, before the end of October, amounted to 30,000 men. Another body of French troops, under the Duke de Noailles, which were assembled in Roussillon, and had already defeated the designs of the confederate fleet, in support of the Cevennois, were now ready to enter Catalonia. So entirely was the posture of affairs in Spain inverted, in the course of a few weeks, that the allied army under Staremburg, was obliged to retreat towards Portugal, whilst General Stanhope, with five thousand British troops, marched towards Catalonia. The latter stopped, on the 8th of December, at a small unfortified town called Briheuga, in New Castile, where he reposed himself in full security. The vigilance of Vendome pursued him thither: the town was suddenly invested; all hopes of escape were cut off, before any danger was perceived. Stanhope did every thing that a brave officer could do, but resistance was in vain, he and his army were obliged to surrender prisoners at discretion. The Count de Staremburg, apprized of the danger that threatened Stanhope, put his whole army in full march to his relief, but he arrived too late: instead of extricating the British troops from the force that surrounded them, he found himself reduced to the necessity of fighting the French general under very great disadvantages. The Duke de Vendome came up with the allies at Villaviciosa, about two leagues from the place of Stanhope's misfortune. A desperate action ensued. Night at length parted the combatants. The allies retreated, leaving behind them
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twenty pieces of cannon, two mortars, and some wag-gons of provisions and ammunition; they had three thousand slain in the fight, and an equal number made prisoners.

We shall next give a short account of the campaign in Catalonia, and so conclude the operations of this year by land. The Duke de Noailles having been at Paris, and reported there the state of affairs in Spain, orders were immediately given for recruiting the forces in Roussillon, and sending thither such supplies of ammunition, provisions, artillery, and other necessaries, as might enable them to act offensively, though it was so late in the year. It was November before the duke arrived in that country, and the beginning of December before his forces were in a condition to march; however he instantly determined to pursue the orders he had received, and to form the siege of Gironne, which he accordingly invested on the fifteenth of that month. The place was every way very strong, as well by its situation as by the old and new fortifications which had been raised for its defence. It had a multitude of outworks, which constrained the besiegers to extend their lines excessively. On the summit of a steep hill, at a considerable distance from the town, stood the Red Fort; between it and the town there was a strong redoubt; on the top of another hill stood another regular fort called the Fort of Calvary; and a hundred and fifty paces from it a redoubt called the Capital: beyond it on the other side was Fort Constable, which had before it the retrenchments of the Capuchines, and between it and the bastion of the Carmelites there was a redoubt with several pieces of cannon. On the other side of the town in an island made by the rivers Ter and Dona, there was a very strong redoubt, called the redoubt of Bournonville, besides a new fort erected by the allies, and called, in honour of her Britannic majesty, Fort Anne. The Duke de Noailles began with the Red Fort, or Fort

Montjoy, the trenches before which were opened in the night between the 23d and 24th. By the 29th a large breach was made, and the duke resolved to cause the place to be attacked : he left however the communication between it and the town open, that the Count de Tattenbach, who commanded in the place, might, if he pleased, withdraw his garrison. He then ordered a lieutenant and eight grenadiers to mount the breach in his presence, who reported that there were some mines ready to blow up, as they apprehended, in which they were right ; for they over-turned a few minutes afterwards two of the bastions, and then the grenadiers entered, the place being abandoned. The Duke de Noailles erected three batteries, one against a redoubt between Fort Montjoy and the town, another against Fort Calvary, and the third on the other side of the river, to batter the town in breach. The garrison made an obstinate resistance ; but fearing at last that the enemy, who were in possession of a great part of the town, would take the place by storm, they beat the chamade ; whereupon hostages were exchanged, and a capitulation agreed on, whereby the besieged were permitted to retire into the forts Constable, Anne, and of the Capuchins, upon condition, that, if they were not relieved in six days, those places should also be surrendered. The Duke de Noailles having demanded an explication of the term relieved, Count Tattenbach readily answered, that he would have understood thereby an army able to give battle to that of the Duke de Noailles, which was the same construction the Duke de Noailles would have put on that word ; but, no such army appearing, the forts were rendered the last day of January, the garrison marching out with all possible marks of honour. As soon as the duke was master of Gironne, he published a general amnesty very little expected by the Catalans, who had abandoned all the villages in the neighbourhood of that town, to which they presently returned when

when they found that King Philip was not so implacable as they had been made to believe. Thus ended the campaign on this side, much about the time the Duke de Vendome encamped at Balaguer.

Very little was done by sea this year.-- Sir Edward Whitaker was recalled from the Mediterranean, and Vice-admiral Baker only continued there with a small squadron to protect the trade and assist the King of Spain, until a more considerable force should be sent out from England.

Admiral Aylmer put to sea with a considerable fleet, with which he cruised in the channel, and escorted the outward-bound merchantmen out to sea. Whilst he was cruising about sixty-eight leagues south-west by west of the Lizard, he came in sight of a fleet of French merchantmen, under convoy of the *Superbe*, a French man of war of fifty-six guns, and the *Concord* of thirty. Soon after this intelligence had been received, the *Kent*, a seventy-gun ship, commanded by Captain Robert Johnson, came up with and engaged the *Superbe*; the action continued very hot for an hour, the Frenchman having more men on-board than the *Kent*, and the rest of the fleet being too far distant to afford any assistance. At length the *Superbe* struck; and, as she was a new ship, and a remarkable fast sailer, she proved a valuable acquisition. Another French man of war of fifty-six guns, called *Le Galliard*, was taken in the Mediterranean, by the *Suffolk*, Captain Cleveland, of seventy guns, one of Vice-admiral Baker's squadron.

The command of the fleet fitted out for the Mediterranean service was given to Sir John Norris, who set sail about the middle of January, 1710, and arrived at Port Mahon on the 13th of March. He immediately dispatched three English and two Dutch men of war to Barcelona, with money for the use of Charles, and to receive that prince's orders for the disposition of the fleet. Soon after the *Pembroke* of

sixty-four guns, Captain Rumsey, and the Falcon, thirty-two guns, Captain Constable, in cruising to the southward of Nice, fell in with five French men of war. The Toulouse, a seventy-gun ship, first attacked the Pembroke, and in less than half an hour, two others, a sixty-six gun ship and a fifty-gun ship, bore down upon her, and obliged her to strike, after which the Falcon was likewise taken. Captain Rumsey was killed in the engagement, and 140 of the ship's company; her mizen-mast was brought by the board, and all her rigging torn to pieces, before the officers agreed to surrender. Captain Constable in the Falcon had a shot through his shoulder, notwithstanding which he never quitted the deck, neither would he strike his flag until he had only sixteen sound men remaining! In some measure to compensate for this loss, two English men of war, the Breda and Warspight, took a French sixty-gun ship called the Moor.

Sir John Norris, being at Leghorn, received certain advice that the Duke de Turfis, a Genoese nobleman who commanded a fleet of galleys for the service of King Philip, had taken on-board two thousand men, in order to make a descent on the island of Sardinia. In consequence of this, the admiral on the 1st day of June, detached four men of war to convoy some transports to Barcelona, with German recruits; also four English and four Dutch men of war to cruise in the heights of Toulon, for a fleet expected to arrive there from the Levant; with the rest of the confederate fleet he sailed to the assistance of Sardinia, having two imperial regiments on-board. His arrival defeated the designs which had been formed on that island. Those who were disaffected to the Austrian interest had taken arms on the arrival of the Duke de Turfis on their coast; but on the 5th of June the admiral entered the bay of Terra Nova, where he found four tartanes belonging to the enemy, which had landed four hundred men and sixty officers, under
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the command of the Count de Castello. After securing these vessels, some forces were embarked to go in search of Castello's party, which they soon after came up with, and obliged them to surrender at discretion. The news of the arrival of the confederate fleet had occasioned Turfis to leave Sardinia precipitately, and take refuge in Ajaccio, on the island of Corsica. Thither he was pursued, but, not thinking himself secure in that harbour, he quitted it, leaving eight barks, with five hundred soldiers, and the greatest part of his ammunition, artillery, and provisions, imagining that the neutrality of the place would protect them, though he did not choose to risk the safety of his own person. However, Sir John Norris did not hesitate to seize all that he could find; and signified to the republic of Genoa, that the Queen of Great Britain, his mistress, could not but express on all occasions the highest resentment against them, for having permitted one of their subjects to prepare, in their dominions, such an armament, destined against one of the kingdoms belonging to the King of Spain, her ally; and that, looking upon their permission, or connivance, as a breach of their neutrality, he would attack the queen's enemies in all their harbours. The Genoese governor, to whom these representations were made, answered with much submission; promised that he would not supply the duke, or any that belonged to him, with provisions; and most earnestly requested that the admiral would not land any troops upon the island. Sir John Norris, sensible that it would be to very little purpose to follow the enemy to the mountains, desisted, and sailed immediately for Barcelona, where he arrived on the 18th of June; and the King of Spain, desiring that part of the troops might be landed in Valencia, and that the fleet might be as soon as possible at Terragona, it was resolved to sail thither directly, and to leave orders for Vice-admiral Baker to follow.

The Cevennois being still in arms against the French king,

king, a design was formed to assist them, by making a descent on the coast of Languedoc. The troops embarked on-board the fleet for this expedition, consisted of Colonel Stanhope's regiment, and about three hundred men from Port Mahon, which force was commanded by Major-general Seiffan, a native of Languedoc. On the 9th day of July, the confederate fleet, under Sir John Norris, and the Dutch admiral Somelsdyke, sailed from Barcelona. They arrived on the 13th before the town of Cette. Some ships were directed to batter the fort at the Mole-head, upon which the inhabitants retired to the church; and soon after both town and fort surrendered. The adjacent town of Adge surrendered the next day; but the want of a sufficient force to preserve and improve these advantages soon appeared. On the 17th, advice was received, that the Duke de Roquelaure was advancing with four hundred dragoons and four thousand militia, to recover the two towns. All the boats of the fleet were hereupon manned, and sent to oppose the enemy, whilst the land forces marched to meet them, which obliged the French general to return to Mezé. The Duke de Noailles, who was at Rouffillon, when news of the descent arrived, immediately marched with two thousand dragoons, having each a foot soldier behind, to oppose the invaders. Adge was immediately surrendered, and Cette soon after, and the land-forces re-embarked on-board the fleet. The combined fleet quitted Cette on the 19th, and appeared before Marfeilles and Toulon. Standing into the road of Hieres, a French fly-boat was discovered carrying fifty guns, under three forts, upon the island of Port-croix; some English and Dutch frigates were immediately dispatched, under the command of Captain Stepney, to attack both the ship and the fortresses. This service was performed with great spirit; and in a short time the ship was abandoned, as well as the lowest of the three forts. The boats then rowed
eagerly

eagerly to board the vessel ; but, as soon as the men had entered, the French set fire to a train of powder, which had been laid for that purpose, which blew up thirty-five seamen, many of whom were killed, and the rest wounded. Thus ended the operations of the fleet in the Mediterranean, for the year 1710.

While these undecisive events happened abroad, the most violent party animosities distracted the kingdom. Hitherto the Duke of Marlborough's influence, both over his sovereign and the nation, had been unbounded. His duchess, who was the inseparable attendant on the queen, and her bosom confidante, was ever watchful to serve the interests of the duke her husband, the brilliancy of whose successes had gained him the entire confidence of the Whigs : he had the treasury at his command, by means of Godolphin the lord high treasurer, whose son had married Lady Henrietta Churchill, the duke's eldest daughter ; in the council he had an equal weight, by means of the Earl of Sunderland, who had married the Lady Anne, the duke's second daughter, and who was secretary of state. We have already taken notice of a rival to the Duchess of Marlborough, which started up in the person of Mrs. Masham. The duchess had so long enjoyed the royal favour, that she seemed to lay claim to it by a kind of prescriptive right. The fate of nations is frequently decided by a trivial circumstance : some gloves of a particular make, which the duchess refused the queen, and a basin of water which she with affected carelessness let fall in her majesty's presence on Lady Masham's gown, gave a turn to the affairs of Europe. Harley, who secretly fomented this misunderstanding, was sensible that it was not enough for the queen's mind to be alienated from her former attachments ; the disposition of the nation must likewise be changed. Among the writers of the Tory faction, were many men of the first rank in literary merit ; these displayed the avarice of the Duke of Marlborough, and the self-interested conduct

conduct of the Dutch: they insisted, that, while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests, she was losing her liberty at home; that her ministers were not content with sharing the plunder of the state, but were resolved upon destroying its liberties also. The Tories every where spread the opinion that the church of England was in danger from the dissenters and men of levelling principles. These notions, which had been propagated ever since the beginning of the present reign, now gained ground amazingly, by means of the ecclesiastical demagogue Sacheverel. Soon after the trial of that incendiary was over, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had distinguished himself on that occasion, in the debates against the ministry, was appointed chamberlain, in the room of the Earl of Kent, who had resigned that office upon his being raised to the dignity of a duke. This promotion was considered as a prelude to the fall of the ministry. The seals were next taken from the Earl of Sunderland. On the 8th of August the Earl of Godolphin was removed from the head of the treasury; and that high office was held by commission, Earl Powlet being constituted the chief at the board. At the same time Harley was made chancellor of the exchequer, and was in fact the chief spring of action to the new ministry. On the 21st of September Lord Somers was dismissed from the presidency of the council; and was succeeded by the Earl of Rochester, maternal uncle to the queen. Boyle, the other secretary of state, was succeeded by St. John, formerly secretary of war. The Duke of Devonshire quitted his place of lord-steward of the household, to make way for the Duke of Buckingham; the Earl of Orford, who had been but lately appointed first lord of the admiralty, resigned his employment. The great seal, upon the resignation of the Lord-chancellor Cowper, was given to Sir Simon Harcourt; and the lord lieutenancy of Ireland to the Duke of Ormond, upon the resignation of the Duke of Wharton; only the Duke

Duke of Marlborough was retained; which he owed to his own real consequence, and the great share of popularity which he possessed, not to any regard which the queen continued to have for him. The admiralty commissioners appointed on the resignation of the Earl of Orford, were Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Sir James Wifhart, General Clarke, and John Aislabbie, Esq. The revolution itself, it was justly observed, had not made such a total change among the servants of the crown.

On the 21st of September the parliament was dissolved. The elections were carried on every where with unusual violence and noise. The mob, encouraged by the new ministry and the Tories, became outrageous in the cities and boroughs. The general cry was raised so effectually against the Whigs, that they were excluded, wherever the votes depended either on the inclinations or the caprice of the populace. The new parliament assembled at Westminster on the 25th of November, and on the 27th chose for their speaker a Mr. William Bromley, who was distinguished for his attachment to the high-church party. The queen, in her speech from the throne, recommended the carrying on the war in very strong terms, and the commons, in their address, assured her majesty of their support. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, they voted 40,000 men for the sea-service, for the year 1711, and 120,000*l.* for the ordinary of the navy; on the 10th of February they voted 5,130,539*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* for the payment of the debts of the navy, and for services performed by them on account of land-forces to Michaelmas 1710, exclusive of the register-office; and on the 20th of the said month, they resolved, that 103,003*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* be granted for the use of such proprietors, or inhabitants only, of Nevis, and St. Christopher's, who were sufferers by the French invasion, and who have settled or shall re-settle in those islands. So that the debts provided for, and the sums

raised in the course of this session, amounted to upwards of fourteen millions and a half. Over and above these immense grants, the commons voted to the queen an extraordinary supply of five hundred thousand pounds for the re-establishing the affairs of Spain and Portugal; four hundred and fifty thousand pounds for giving currency to exchequer bills; near three hundred thousand pounds for the extraordinary contingencies of the war; three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for building new churches; and nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds, being a subsidy due by the late King William to the Elector of Hanover.

No sooner were the new ministry formed, than the association had well nigh been broken, by the death of their leader Harley. The Abbé de la Bourlie, a Frenchman, who had assumed the title of Marquis de Guiscard, and had fled his country for atrocious crimes, found means to gain the confidence of some men in power, and, as we have already shewn, p. 132, had set on foot an expedition to the coast of France; which, however, was laid aside as impracticable, as soon as it was undertaken. This pretended marquis had the address to obtain the command of a regiment, which having been cut off in the battle of Almanza, his pay as colonel soon after ceased. He thereupon applied to the ministry for a pension; his chief patron had all along been Mr. Henry St. John, to whom he recommended himself by a sympathetic profligacy. Mr. Harley exerted his influence to prevent this desperate adventurer receiving any countenance from the crown. Bourlie, disappointed in his expectations, resolved to repair his ruined fortunes by betraying the secrets of the British cabinet to the court of France. His treasonable correspondence was soon discovered, and his letters transmitted to Mr. Harley. As the friendships between bad men are generally short-lived, so that between St. John and Guiscard had, by this time, been converted

verted into an implacable enmity. The traitor was apprehended upon a warrant from the secretary of state, and brought for examination before the council-board. Guiscard, conscious of his crime, and abandoned to despair by the glaring proof which was produced, requested to speak in private with Mr. St. John; but the secretary, apprehending danger from the wild gestures of the prisoner, refused to comply. Being thus disappointed of his intended revenge upon his former friend, he made up to Mr. Harley, and, having taken a penknife unobserved, struck it into his breast with such violence, that, the point coming upon the bone, the blade broke short off near the handle. The villain, not attending to this circumstance, redoubled his blows. St. John, starting from his chair at this assault, drew his sword, and wounded the assassin in several places; whilst the attendants, who were waiting without, hearing the uproar, hurried in, and securing Guiscard, conveyed him to Newgate, where he soon after died. The wound which Mr. Harley received proved of little consequence, whilst the danger he had so narrowly escaped led his sovereign to heap honours and emoluments upon him with an unsparing hand: he was soon after created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and appointed lord high-treasurer. Whilst the court of Versailles saw with pleasure these revolutions in the executive part of government take place in Great Britain, another event happened which tended greatly to accelerate that peace which alone could save France from the total ruin which threatened her. On the 6th of April 1711, the Emperor Joseph died at Vienna of the small pox, in the thirty-third year of his age. By his will he bequeathed all the dominions of the house of Austria to his brother Charles king of Spain, who was soon after elected emperor. Such an accession of power to one prince, entirely changed the political system of Europe. The war undertaken by

the grand alliance, for preserving the balance of Europe, had now no longer that motive for its continuance. The emperor's death therefore furnished the Tories in England with a fresh argument for the re-establishment of peace. The queen, in the notification which she made to her parliament of the emperor's death, concluded with saying, that she hoped soon to be in a condition to put a happy end to the war by a lasting and honourable peace. But, though the queen secretly endeavoured to bring this about, her ministers proceeded with great circumspection; they were sensible that they could not as yet publicly disengage their mistress from her alliances; hostilities were therefore still carried on in 1711.

The Duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague on the 4th of March; he remained there a considerable time, and held many conferences with the foreign ministers and deputies of the States. He sent orders for considerable detachments to be made from all the garrisons in the neighbourhood of the Scarpe, in order to their being cantoned along that river, for preventing any attempts of the French.

On the 25th of April, Marshal Villars marched with the troops in the neighbourhood of Arras, with an intent to have forced the posts possessed by the allies on the Deule and Scarpe; but, finding them thoroughly secured against any such attempts, he was constrained to retire within the lines, and to encamp between Bouchain and Arras, having before him the Senfet and the marshes formed by the Scarpe. The true design of Villars, in case the detachment from the allies had not prevented him, was to have made the siege of Douay, which would have given spirit to the French, and restored some degree of credit to their arms.

The Duke of Marlborough no sooner received advice of these proceedings than he set out for the army, which assembled on the 30th of April, between Lisle
Douay.

Douay. His grace immediately passed the Scarpe, and encamped over against the French army. Let us here take a view of the force of both camps, that we may have the better idea of the subsequent transactions. The Duke of Marlborough's army formed two lines: the general officers commanding the first, were his grace, the Count de Tilly, the hereditary Prince of Hesse, M. Dopf, the Prince of Orange, M. Buleau, and General Lumley, eighteen lieutenant and thirty-seven major generals, forty-four battalions, and eighty-two squadrons. The second line was commanded by the following generals, viz. the Earl of Albemarle, M. Fagel, and the Prince of Anhalt, nine lieutenant and twenty-eight major generals, fifty battalions, and sixty-three squadrons; the whole amounting to ninety-four battalions and a hundred and forty-five squadrons. Prince Eugene's army was likewise formed in two lines; the first commanded by his highness, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and Count de Velen, under whom there were five lieutenant and twelve major generals, twenty-two battalions and fifty-nine squadrons. The second line was commanded by general Count de Feltz, and under him by four lieutenant and six major generals, consisting of twenty-four battalions and fifty squadrons, in all forty-seven battalions and a hundred and eleven squadrons, and the whole confederate army of a hundred and forty-one battalions and two hundred and fifty-six squadrons. The army of France, commanded by Marshals Villars and Montesquieu, and under them by a great number of lieutenant generals and marshals de camp, consisted in the whole of 156 battalions and 227 squadrons. The allies had a train of a hundred and eleven cannon, besides mortars and howitzers: that of the French did not amount to above ninety pieces. Prince Eugene did not arrive at the Hague till the 9th of May, being detained in Germany by the death of the emperor. His highness arrived in the army on the 23d of May,

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the next day there was a council of war held, in which it was agreed to remain as long as possible in their present camp, it being apprehended that through the scarcity of forage the French could not continue long in theirs. His highness then returned to the Hague, in order to concert farther measures for the security of the Austrian house, intending afterwards to repair himself to the Rhine.

In the mean time the French took all imaginable precautions for distressing the confederate armies, by attempting their convoys. It happened that forty-five bilanders loaded with hay, forage of all sorts, meal, &c. were sent up the Scarpe from Tournay, under an escort of two battalions, commanded by Brigadier Chambrier. When they were arrived about three in the afternoon, at the castle of Tiens, between Mortagne and St. Amand, M. de Permangle, who commanded in Condé, posted himself in ambuscade, with between fourteen and fifteen hundred men, being determined to attack the convoy. About four o'clock the convoy and its escort drew near, but M. de Permangle was surprized to find it guarded by two regiments; his first intelligence having spoken of no more than six hundred fusileers. However he still resolved to attack the convoy, which he did while the men were in some confusion, as little expecting an enemy so near. Brigadier Chambrier behaved with great bravery, but was at last wounded and taken prisoner; this so far dispirited his troops, that they were soon after entirely broken. Twelve of the bilanders found means, during the action, to escape, and most of the horses and men belonging to these vessels, being on the contrary side of the river, got safe to Mortagne; the rest fell into the hands of M. Permangle, who burnt them with their contents, without staying to see what they were. The allies lost here five hundred men, and the French near two hundred.

The post of Arleux being of great consequence to the

the allies, it was determined to force the French from thence, cost what it would. M. de Hompesch, governor of Douay, was charged with this enterprize, or rather charged himself with it, because the French garrison at that place found means to stop the water of the Scarpe, so that the mills of Douay could not grind. To facilitate this enterprize, the Duke of Marlborough sent a detachment from the army, supported by the whole piquet, under the command of the Prince of Hesse. The affair succeeded as well as could be wished, the Castle of Chanterin was forced, a redoubt before the mills of Arleux taken by storm, and the soldiers in all the posts made prisoners of war. This done, M. de Roques was sent thither with six hundred men to fortify the place, without loss of time; and to cover these Count Hompesch marched with ten battalions and twelve squadrons, and encamped at Fieren. Villars had no sooner intelligence of this, than he resolved to send some of the bravest officers in his army to pay M. Hompesch a visit; a thing difficult to be done, since his army was under the eye of that of the confederates, so that he could not make the least detachment without its being observed. In the night between the 9th and 10th, he sent away some pontoons, which he directed to be concealed under the trees which grew along the side of the Schelde; he then ordered twenty-four squadrons of the household troops, horse and hussars, to be ready under the command of the Count de Cassion, lieutenant-general, who had with him M. de Coigny, lieutenant general and colonel general of dragoons, and several other persons of distinction. The hories were sent first, at least the greatest part of them, the men followed on foot; such as went with their hories led them, with halters about their necks, as if going to graze. On the 10th in the morning the troops were exercised in the highest places in the neighbourhood of the camp, and about ten o'clock orders were given for stopping the peasants at the several

several posts of the Scarpe, Schelde, and Senset, under pretence that intelligence was given of some spies, but in truth, that they might not discover the march of the troops. These precautions answered exactly: the Count of Gassion arrived under Bouchain, without being discovered; he left there eight squadrons, and put himself at the head of the rest, with the dragoons of Count Coigny, in order to attack the allies.

These two generals divided their forces into four lines one behind another; the first consisted of three hundred dragoons and three hundred hussars, commanded by the Baron of Raski their colonel; the rest of dragoons and horse. The first line went a little round about; the second fell upon the guards at the standards, and cut them to pieces. The hussars and dragoons dismounted, and were by this time got over all the camp, shooting, stabbing, and knocking on the head, such as were scarcely awake, and not at all upon their guard. Some English battalions ran in their shirts to the arm-tents, and, finding there the greatest part of their small arms, fired briskly upon the French, and did a great deal of mischief. M. de Coigny, to encrease the confusion every body was in, loosened all the horse at the picquets, and let them all run about the camp, while his dragoons and horse were employed in murdering, plundering, and setting fire to the tents. General Hompesch, with some battalions, retired to Douay, from whence firing three cannon to give notice of their misfortune, he then advanced to cover his flying troops. The Duke of Marlborough no sooner heard the signal from Douay than he detached his whole picquet, but they came too late. Messieurs de Gassion and de Coigny retired without being pursued; and, in case they had, M. Villars in the morning sent Count Albergotti with two thousand grenadiers to support them; and Count Broglio, with a great body of horse, approached the right wing of the allies in such a manner that it was not thought safe to send
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any detachments from thence. When this unlucky business came to be looked into, it was found that nine hundred men were killed; eighteen hundred desperately wounded, and six or seven hundred horse carried away, with the general's coach, and four or five pair of colours and kettle-drums. This accident did not hinder the Duke of Marlborough from fortifying Arleux, and putting into it a garrison of six hundred men, under the command of Colonel Savory; after which he decamped from the neighbourhood of Lens.

Villars upon this made a motion with his army, and encamped his right at Etron near Arras, and his left at Hesdin. From whence he detached Count d'Eftaing, with twenty-five battalions and twenty-six squadrons, for the Sambre, as he pretended, but quickly invested the post of Arleux, where Marshal Montesquieu arrived soon after in person, with four pieces of heavy cannon. They cannonaded the place till eleven o'clock, and then, having made the necessary dispositions of the troops, they attacked it sword in hand, and carried it after a vigorous resistance, in which the French, according to their own account, lost eighty men and several officers; M. de Lisle was dangerously wounded. Montesquieu left eight hundred men in Arleux, and encamped six battalions in its neighbourhood, in order to support them; but, finding afterwards that these troops would be too much exposed, directions were given for razing the fortifications, and abandoning that post, where they had taken eight pieces of cannon and two mortars.

The Duke of Marlborough, having weighed the small progress that had been hitherto made, resolved to penetrate the French lines, and, if possible, without fighting. These lines began at Bouchain, on the Schelde, and were continued along the Senset and the Scarpe to Arras, from thence along the Upper Scarpe to the Canche, the opening to these rivers being entrenched and fortified by a large ditch, defended with

redoubts and other works. His grace had no sooner determined to make this attempt, but he resolved with himself to take such measures as might hinder friends and enemies from apprehending that he had any design of that sort. Lieutenant-general Cadogan and Count Hompesch had orders to draw together a body of troops from the neighbouring garrisons, and to attempt the passage of the Senfet by Arleux. To facilitate this extraordinary motion, Brigadier Sutton was sent beforehand with the artillery and pontoons, to throw bridges over the Scarpe at Vitry, and over the canal of Arleux, and bread was baked at Lisle for six days. His grace's precautions succeeded so well, that the confederate generals themselves had not the least suspicion, but that the enemy's lines would be attacked the next morning; for which purpose a prodigious number of fascines were prepared, but his grace, in pity to the soldiers, ordered that they should not be above four feet long, to prevent their fatiguing them too much in their march. The duke likewise, with several general officers, and two thousand horse, advanced to observe the enemy's lines, which seemed to put the matter past dispute, so that Marshal Villars recalled his detachments, and put every thing in order for making an obstinate defence. At six in the evening, on the 4th of August, the troops received the long-expected orders to march, but they were not to strike their tents till it was quite dark, and then they neither knew the hour when they were to move, nor the road they were to take; they were only told that the march was to be made in four columns, and that each column would find an officer at its head, who would put them in the road. About nine they began to move, to their great surprize, to the left, without beat of drum, and with as little noise as possible; the duke himself, at the head of the cavalry of the left wing, led the van, and advanced with such prodigious expedition, that he passed the Scarpe at Vitry by five in the morning. Count Hompesch,

pesch, according to his grace's project, having seized the passes of the Senfet without opposition. By eight in the morning his grace, with fifty squadrons, arrived at Arleux, where the heads of the columns joined him about ten, having marched ten hours without halting. --- Marshal Villars received advice of his grace's march about eleven at night, but it was two in the morning before he could suffer himself to be satisfied that it was so. He then decamped, and, having a shorter way to march within the lines than the duke had without them, by eleven o'clock he appeared in sight of the Duke of Marlborough, who with twenty squadrons was just passed the defile of Marquion. The French say, that Villars might have attacked the confederate army with great advantage, but he did not, and for this our writers tell us he was lampooned in his own army, and decried in the French court. The French affirm, that the marshal had orders not to fight on any occasion whatsoever; of which, it may be, the duke had intelligence; however it was, his grace received the highest applause for his conduct in this affair. It is beyond dispute that he got within those lines which M. de Villars is said to have filed the *ne plus ultra* of the allies, and that without fighting, by engaging the enemy to make such motions as left the passage of the Senfet unguarded. He over-reached the Marshal Villars, by obliging him to withdraw his detachments, and therefore this may well be looked upon as one of the most glorious actions of the war.

The Duke of Marlborough, after having succeeded so happily in one extraordinary step, immediately resolved upon another, which was the besieging Bouchain. The deputies of the States opposed it, and so did many general officers, because they looked upon it as impracticable to reduce a place so strong by situation, fortifications, and the neighbourhood of two French camps; but the duke considered, that, unless he made himself master of some strong place within

the lines, his entering them would be of little consequence, and that, if Bouchain could be subdued this campaign, the next would infallibly open a road into France; he therefore resolved to cause it to be invested. Pursuant to this resolution, the army began to pass the Schelde at Estrun, over the bridges which M. Villars had caused to be thrown across that river. The next morning the confederate army encamped betwixt Cambray and Bouchain, the Duke of Marlborough having his head quarters at Avesne le Sec, and Count Tilly his at Harfpre, upon the river Selle. Bridges were laid the same day below Bouchain, in order to open a communication with Douay, and that the troops might pass with ease in order to invest that place, which was done on the tenth by thirty battalions and twelve squadrons, commanded by General Fagel, who had under him Lieutenant-generals Collier and North and Grey, four major-generals, and four brigadiers. What difficulties were to be struggled with in this siege, the reader will perceive from the following account of M. Rouffet.

Bouchain is but a little town, or rather fortress, situate at the confluence of the Senfet and the Selle, or Raselle, into the Schelde. It is about nine miles north of Cambray, ten south west of Valenciennes, and twenty-eight almost west of Mons. The Senfet separates the upper town from the lower, forces an inundation between that and the Selle, and fills the ditches which surround the works between the upper and the lower town. The Selle separates the lower town into two parts; and between the lower town and the Schelde there was a horn-work, which covered two separate bastions, and which was cut in two by a ditch, supplied by the Schelde. Besides these difficulties arising from the situation of the place, there were two other very essential ones. The first a formidable intrenchment, fenced with redoubts, and fifty pieces of cannon, which thirty battalions, commanded by the brave
and

and vigilant M. Albergotti, had raised between Wavrechin and Pont-à-Waue on the Senfet; which being but a quarter of a league from the town, and parallel to the circumvallation of the confederates, the batteries of that intrenchment might play upon the circumvallation without interruption, there being nothing but an inundation between them. Secondly, the communication which the enemy kept open with the town, by means of a passage through a morass, which it was deemed impracticable to cut off. To which we may add that there were eight battalions and six hundred Swiss soldiers in the town; that the place was furnished with all requisites for a vigorous defence; that M. de Ravignan had thrown himself into the town to command the troops, and taken five hundred grenadiers with him, and that M. de Selve, who defended St. Venant, was in the town before; so that the garrison was animated by the neighbourhood of the whole French army.

A short time after the duke had discovered his intentions to besiege Bouchain, the French sent a detachment over the Senfet; the duke apprehended that it was intended to intercept his bread waggons and artillery, and for that reason advanced with the cavalry of his left wing to the hill of Vignovet, where they remained till the convoy arrived in the camp, but then, perceiving that the French did not stir, he caused the place to be more narrowly viewed, and found that they had taken post there, and intrenched themselves, which was the camp at Wavrechin mentioned above. The duke then ordered General Dopf to dislodge them, but this too was found impracticable; it then appeared that the town could not be invested at all, according to the scheme first formed, but that the French would still preserve a communication with it, and those who were averse to the siege now valued themselves upon their penetration; but the duke, having considered it a little, shewed himself as great an engineer as he was a general;

a general; for, instead of drawing the lines of circumvallation from the Lower Schelde to the Senſet, he ordered them to be begun between the intrenchments and the town, which did the buſineſs at once, and ſaved a great deal of needleſs labour. He had before ſecured his own camp by a line from Ivoy to Haſpre; and, every thing being executed by the vigilance of Colonel Armſtrong, with as much care as they were contrived with ſkill by the duke, the enemy ſaw that ſiege in a fair way which they flattered themſelves would be impracticable. Marſhal Villars was however indefatigable; he was continually viewing the ground, and contriving with himſelf new means of diſturb- ing the army which carried on the ſiege, and that which covered it; but his vigilance had like to have coſt him dear, for having put himſelf at the head of ſome ſquadrons of huſſars and dragoons, in order to view the works, he found himſelf ſuddenly ſurrounded by a detachment of horſe, commanded by Lieutenant-general Cadogan; the French troops fought with great bravery, being encouraged by the preſence of many officers of diſtinction, as well as the marſhal himſelf; at laſt, a road being opened back to the camp, Villars with part of the detachment eſcaped, and the reſt, with ſix or ſeven officers of rank, were either killed or taken priſoners. The marſhal attempted, by throwing up ſeveral redoubts, to open a new communication between Waverchin and the town; but the Duke of Marlborough, reinforcing his troops on that ſide to a hundred battalions, pushed the French from their forts, and included thoſe redoubts within his lines of circumvallation. Villars made ſtill another attempt: there was a narrow way through the morafs called the Cow-Path; he cauſed a parapet to be raiſed from tree to tree, and by this means actually opened a communication with Bouchain in ſight of the duke. His grace ordered a poſt covered with this parapet to be attacked; the grenadiers appointed for that purpoſe threw themſelves

themselves into the morafs and into the rivers, where many were up to the neck, and moft to the waift and foulders; they held their arms over their heads, received four fires from the French, and then clambered over the parapet: an enfigh of Ingoldfby's regiment, who was very fhort, and could not fwim, rather than not have a fhare in this enterprize, jumped upon a grenadier's foulders, and fat there till the man waded to the enemy's works, upon which the enfigh was one of the firft that jumped. The French, perceiving that neither fire nor water could ftop the duke, abandoned their poft, and retired as faft as they could, leaving behind them fuch a quantity of fascines as enabled the allies to cover themfelves from the fire of the town, and from that of the intrenchment at Waverkin, which otherwife they could never have done. M. de Ravignan made feveral fallies in order to affift the attempts made in his favour, but to very little purpofe; for the Duke of Marlborough fufained all his guards fo feafonably, and kept every thing fo much under his own eye, that in ten days time it appeared Bouchain had nothing to truft to but its own ftrength: and that M. Villars and Count Albergotti could only be fpectators of its fall.

A little time after this, Lieutenant-general Albergotti, with a body of ten thoufand men, made an attempt upon Douay, which mifcarried through the vigilance of General Hompefch, who, on the French detachment's not answering his centinel, fired upon them from the town, and obliged them to retreat in fuch confufion that they left their boats behind them. In the mean time the fieve of Bouchain was carried on fo vigorously that two breaches were made in the upper town; and M. de Ravignan feeing no hopes of fuccour, and being in fome danger of having his garrifon mutiny, beat the chamade. Hoftages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation were fent to the Duke of Marlborough; he refufed to hear them read, and gave them

them for answer, that, having held out as long as they were able, he knew no terms they were to expect, other than surrendering as prisoners of war; which terms M. Ravignan having refused, hostilities were renewed, and such a prodigious fire was made from all the batteries, that the same day they hung out white flags again at all the attacks. M. de Ravignan then sent to acquaint his grace, that the reason why they could not accept his terms was, because they knew the miserable condition their countrymen were in who were already prisoners in Holland; they therefore begged he would permit them to return to France, there to continue without acting, till a like number of the troops of the allies should be set at liberty; but this too was refused, and the fire renewed again with still greater fury, so that in the end M. de Ravignan was constrained to accept the terms originally offered. When they came to march out, it appeared that M. Ravignan had reason to surrender when he did, for his garrison, which consisted at first of six thousand men, was reduced to less than half the number. The private men marched out and were sent prisoners to Holland, to the number of two thousand seven hundred and seventeen; but the officers were permitted to remain in Bouchain till farther orders. The siege lasted from the 10th of August to the 13th of September.

While the works and breaches of Bouchain were repairing, the Duke of Marlborough sent the Earl of Albemarle to the Hague to endeavour to bring their high mightinesses to consent to a project which their field deputies had opposed, viz. the forming the siege of Quesnoy; because, that town being taken, all the new conquests would have been covered, and the troops might in the beginning of the next campaign have penetrated into the heart of the enemy's country. But the States were not to be prevailed on. They well knew that the French had destroyed all the forage in that part of the country; that the season was so far advanced,

that

that the troops must have undergone greater hardships than they had endured the year before at the siege of Aire ; besides, as the negotiations for a peace were then beginning, the States did not think it adviseable to enter upon any new operations ; they consented, however, that their troops should be quartered in the frontier towns, as well to hinder the enemy from throwing up new lines, as that their army might assemble very early next spring. In consequence of this resolution, the duke remained idle for about three weeks, and then both armies separated and went into winter quarters. The duke quitted that of the allies the 27th of October ; he was entertained the same day at Tournay by the Earl of Albemarle : he came the 3d of November to Antwerp, where he was received under a triple discharge of the artillery, supped with the Cardinal de Bouillon, and dined the next day with the Marquis de Terracena, at a great feast he gave on the name-day of the new-elected emperor. On the 5th his grace set out for the Hague, where, having conferred several times with the States, he proceeded for the Briel the 23d of the same month, and arrived four days after safe in England. This was the last campaign of the Duke of Marlborough, and the taking of Bouchain was the last military atchievement of this great general. By a continuance of conduct and success almost unparalleled, he had gained to the allies a prodigious tract of country. From the beginning of the war, which had now continued nine years, he had perpetually advanced, and never retreated before his enemies, nor lost an advantage he had obtained over them. He most frequently gained the enemy's posts without fighting ; but, where he was obliged to attack, no fortifications were able to resist him. He had never besieged a city which he did not take, nor engaged in a battle in which he did not come off victorious. Thus the allies had reduced under their command Spanish Guelderland, Limbourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault ;

they were masters of the Scarpe, the capture of Bouchain had opened for them a way into the heart of France, and another campaign might have made them masters of Paris; but, on the duke's return from this campaign, he was accused of having taken a bribe of 6000*l.* a-year from a Jew who had contracted to supply the army with bread; and the queen thought proper to dismiss him from all his employments. Of this more hereafter.---We must finish the operations of the present campaign abroad, before we proceed to domestic matters.

The Duke of Berwick, without any effort of consequence, defended Dauphiny and Provence against the allies commanded by General Thaurin.

We now pass to the affairs of Spain. The loss of Gironne (see p. 322) was exceedingly prejudicial to the affairs of the allies, as well on account of the large territory which it commanded, as by reason of the cannon and ammunition found therein; of the former, besides a great number of iron, there were fifty fine ones of brass, and 70,000*lb.* weight of powder. The Spanish army advanced also all the month of February in such a manner, that by the latter end thereof their left wing was very near the right of the army of M. de Noailles, whereby two thirds of the principality of Catalonia was brought under the subjection of King Philip. Marshal Staremberg withdrew his garrison from Balaguer, and caused the new fortifications which had been erected there to be blown up. King Philip was all this while at Saragossa with the Duke de Vendôme. For the opening of the campaign there were drawn together seventy-two battalions and eighty-five squadrons: of these seventeen battalions and fifteen squadrons were destined for garrisons, and to escort convoys; the rest were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to take the field.

On the other side, the Marshal de Staremberg left nothing untried to put the small remains of an army
under

under his command in such a condition as might enable him to preserve at least a country he was still in possession of, against a superior army. As to the recruits he had been promised, they came very slowly, and the English fleet of transports were detained a long time by contrary winds, suffered much in their passage, and arrived very late. The Catalans began to grow very uneasy; however, the marshal took the field in tolerable time, and disposed of the troops so happily, that, notwithstanding all the vigilance of M. de Vendome, the Duke de Noailles, and the generals who commanded under them, nothing of great importance could be done. The Marquis d'Arpajou was dispatched in August with a corps of four thousand men to besiege Venasque. Colonel Taff was in a valley in the neighbourhood, with above fifteen hundred men, regular troops and miquelets, and it was not doubted but he would give the marquis all the trouble in his power; but on the approach of the Spanish troops the Catalans would not be persuaded to stay, and Colonel Taff, not knowing what to do without them, was obliged to retire; by this means the town of Venasque was taken without opposition, and the garrison constrained to retire into the castle, where they pretended to make a vigorous defence. The Marquis d'Arpajou caused as soon as possible several batteries to be erected, and began to fire, but his engineers soon told him that it would be to little purpose, the garrison having made an outwork before their walls composed of beams and sacks of wool; M. Mathamort, who commanded the artillery, had instantly recourse to red-hot bullets, which had their effect, for the garrison, being afraid of being burned alive by the beams taking fire, were obliged to surrender at discretion. After this he proceeded directly to besiege Castle Leon, a very strong place by its situation, and the stronger because it was impossible to bring artillery near it: however the marquis took it in a short time through want of water. In the be-

ginning of the month of September the army under the command of M. de Vendome, and that under Marshal de Staremburg, approached so near that they cannonaded each other, whereby a good deal of mischief was done on both sides. Afterwards several messages passed between those generals ; and it is said they would have had an interview if it had not been disapproved by the empress. In the month of October the Duke de Vendome being in an ill state of health, occasioned chiefly by his eating sea fish, of which he received frequently presents from the Marshal Staremburg, thought it necessary to drink the waters of Balzarne, and to that end sued to desire a passport from Mons. de Staremburg, for his purveyor Lambert, which was immediately granted him, and he passed the army of the allies to take the route of Languedoc. The marshal also charged him with some commissions for wine and other things which he wanted. We should not have mentioned this, but for a curious circumstance which occurred during Lambert's short stay in Staremburg's army, who, in the midst of his civilities, gave strict directions that the Frenchmen should not be permitted to converse either with officer or soldier, excepting only General Hamilton, to whose care he was committed. However, as they were passing through the camp, he heard some officers talking in a tent ; one of them particularly said, that Marshal Staremburg would derive great honour from General Wezel's expedition if it succeeded ; for, continued he, he is now encamped at Terragona, with five thousand men, and his intention is to surprize Tortosa, as I guefs from the embarkation of scaling ladders, which was made this morning. Lambert, when he was about to leave the camp, desired permission from General Hamilton to send back a note by the trumpet who came with him, to which the general assented, and called for pen, ink, and paper ; Lambert immediately wrote these words : “ Please to pay a peasant fif-

teen pistoles for brandy, which I have had from him, and for which he will deliver you my note." The general read the billet, and ordered the trumpet to be called: this happening under Marshal Staremberg's window, he looked out, and, seeing the note in Lambert's hand, desired to read it, which, when he had done, he said, "Well, well, give it him;" which Lambert accordingly did, squeezing the trumpet at the same time hard by the hand, who, easily comprehending that there was somewhat the matter, pretended to embrace Mr. Lambert affectionately before his departure, and in that embrace Lambert whispered him, "General Wezel is at Terragona with five thousand men; he intends to surprize Tortosa; the scaling ladders are embarked. Tell this to the Duke de Vendome only." The trumpet made haste back to the camp, and reported what Lambert had told him; orders were thereupon sent to Tortosa to be extremely careful, and yet, with all this precaution, General Wezel actually surprized the outworks, and very narrowly missed carrying the place. The action was very warm and bloody, between four and five hundred men being left dead on the spot, and several on both sides taken prisoners. The miscarrying of this design mortified General Staremberg exceedingly; however he was in some measure consoled by the miscarrying a little after of a design formed by the Duke of Vendome, of as great importance.

After the taking of Venasque and Castle Leon, the Count de Muret was dispatched with three thousand men to besiege Cardona: this was a strong place, and of very great consequence, seated between two mountains, with a castle built on a rock. It had in it a strong garrison of very good troops, but after its being invested there was no attempt made to relieve it, so that it was entirely left to the conduct of the commanders and the valour of the soldiers. On the 14th of November the Count de Muret arrived before the place;

place; on the 17th he caused the retrenchment before the town to be attacked by fourteen hundred men. The garrison made an obstinate defence, but at last the place was taken sword in hand, after a great deal of bloodshed. The castle yet remained, which the Count de Muret was forced to attack in all the forms, but till the 10th of December was able to make very little progress therein. On the 11th he caused a mine to be played with indifferent success, and afterwards bombarded the castle with somewhat better fortune; but the Count de Eck, who commanded therein, having found means to give advice to Marshal Staremberg that the garrison beginning to want ammunition and provisions could not hold out long, that general, in the night between the 30th and the 31st, detached four thousand men, who were obliged to march all night: they surprized a Spanish guard on the river, passed it and attacked the French troops in their retrenchments with great bravery, the latter defending themselves with much obstinacy for some time, but at last they were obliged to abandon their lines, whereby the castle was relieved. The Count de Muret the next day retired, being constrained to burn his baggage and to leave behind twelve pieces of cannon, two mortars, and all his sick and wounded. This unlucky accident chagrined the Duke de Vendome exceedingly; for, if he had succeeded in the scheme he had formed, M. Staremberg must have immediately encamped under the cannon of Barcelona.

In the latter end of December the armies went into winter quarters, the Duke de Vendome decamping first in full day-light, and in sight of Marshal Staremberg. He held a council of war the day before, in which all the general officers were of opinion that the army ought to decamp by night: when they had declared their sentiments, the Duke de Vendome rose up: "It is very well, gentlemen," said he; "you may be in the right, but this is not my way; retreats in the night
confuse

confuse and dispirit an army : I will take the command of the rear ; there is a river and a fine plain behind us ; if Marshal Staremborg comes, he shall not lose his labour ; but while I command the Spaniards they shall not wander in the dark in their own country." The next day, Marshal Staremborg sending some squadrons of dragoons to observe the rear of the Duke de Vendome's army, his highness on their approach halted, and, presenting his army in battalia, obliged them to retire, after which he marched off without further disturbance. Marshal Staremborg distributed his troops also throughout Catalonia, and the campaign ended pretty early.

The Duke de Vendome returned with King Philip to Madrid, where he was received with prodigious applause ; and the king, with the consent of all the grantees, gave him the title and precedence as first prince of the blood ; and, as soon as the effects of the galleons came into his majesty's power, he presented the duke with 120,000 pieces of eight for the expences of the campaign. The duke smiled when the king offered it him, and accepted it with the following compliment : " Sire, this is a very magnificent testimony of your kind acceptance of my services, and as such I receive it ; but I hope your majesty will allow me to follow your example, and to be grateful in my turn ; let me beseech you therefore to cause this money to be distributed among your Spanish troops, as a small recompence of that valour, whereby in twenty-four hours they fixed your majesty's title to fourteen kingdoms."

The combined fleet of the maritime powers was commanded by Sir John Leake. Its operations were confined to the defence of the British coast, and clearing the channel of the French cruisers. Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue, was sent with a strong squadron of ten men of war to block up the port of Dunkirk ; but, notwithstanding the vigilance used to prevent any vessels getting out to sea from
that

that harbour, some ships found means to get out, and others entered safely. The rear-admiral was soon after called off from this station to convoy the Russian fleet as far northward as the Orkneys, in their way to Archangel.

On the 27th of June, an English man of war, called the *Advice*, commanded by Kenneth lord Dufus, was attacked in Yarmouth-roads by several French privateers. His lordship engaged them with great bravery, and did not give up his ship, which was a fourth rate of forty-six guns, till all his sails were torn to pieces, the shrouds cut away, two thirds of his men killed and wounded, and he himself had received five balls in his body. The eight privateers that took him brought the ship with great triumph into Dunkirk, where they most inhumanly stripped both officers and private men even of their wearing apparel; the inhabitants of Dunkirk, however, with great kindness, furnished them with necessaries, and relieved them from the distress into which the brutality of their plunderers had thrown them.

Notwithstanding the number of ships that were employed in the channel service, yet four French men of war, commanded by M. Saus, having slipped out of Dunkirk, fell in with the Virginia fleet, consisting of twenty-two sail; two of which were forced ashore, four escaped, and the rest were taken; and with this booty they got safe back to port, notwithstanding a very close pursuit.

The service in the Mediterranean was as barren of events as that nearer home. The affairs of Charles III. now wore a very unfavourable aspect, from the heavy misfortunes that had befallen his arms towards the close of the last campaign. Sir John Norris, by his majesty's direction, sailed with the fleet to the Italian coast, to transport recruits from thence to Barcelona. On the 22d of March, an engagement happened between the *Severn*, *Lion*, and *Lyme*, and four French

French men of war, near Vado-bay, in the gulph of Genoa, which after being maintained for two hours the Frenchman sheered off. The Lion, commanded by Captain Galfredus Walpole, was the only ship in a condition to pursue the flying enemy, and that officer had his right arm shot away in the action, forty of his men had been killed or wounded, and his ship much torn. The Exeter, Captain Raymond, at that time coming up, joined in the chase, and overtook one of the French ships, which after an obstinate engagement struck; she proved to be the Pembroke, which the French a year before had taken: Captain Raymond's ship, however, was so much disabled, that he could not secure his prize; he was therefore under the mortifying necessity of parting with her, so that the whole squadron escaped.

In the spring of the year 1711, Sir John Norris was succeeded in the command of the Mediterranean fleet by Sir John Jennings, and the Duke of Argyle was sent out to command the British troops in Spain. The fleet cruised for some time off the harbour of Toulon, in order to intercept the supplies which the French expected from Languedoc, as well as their corn-fleet from the Levant. From this service he was called off by the King of Spain, who, when he was elected emperor, embarked on-board the admiral's ship at Barcelona, and was landed at Genoa. Two rich prizes were soon after taken on their passage from the Levant to Marseilles, and a French fifty-gun ship called the Toulouse, which, together with the Trident, a ship of equal force, maintained a desperate fight with the Hampton-court and Sterling-castle; of which the former bore the heaviest part, and suffered the most: the Trident escaped by plying her oars. About the same time we lost the Resolution, a seventy-gun ship, in a violent storm, near Leghorn, where she was driven ashore, but the officers and crew saved themselves. In the same tempest a settce was lost, freighted with a

valuable cargo, valued at four thousand crowns, from Corfica.

In the West-Indies, Commodore Lyttleton, arriving in the latter end of the year 1710 with a strong squadron, took on him the command in chief. The grand object was, the taking the galleons; for which purpose the *Nonfuch*, Captain Hardy, and the *Roebuck*, were stationed on the Spanish coast. Intelligence was soon after obtained, by means of some Spanish vessels that were taken, that M. du Cassé, with a strong squadron, had arrived at Carthagena, in order to convoy the galleons from thence to the Havannah, in their way to Cadiz. The commodore hereupon stood out to sea on the 15th of July 1711, and, arriving on the coast of New Spain on the 27th, in the morning he chased four ships, and soon after came up with the vice-admiral of the galleons, and a Spanish merchant-ship. The *Salisbury's* prize, commanded by Captain Robert Harland, first engaged the galleon, and presently after the *Salisbury*, commanded by Captain Francis Hosier, joined in the attack: the commodore being now within pistol shot, was preparing his broadside, which the galleon to avoid struck her colours. She proved to be the very ship that had escaped from Admiral Wager two years before; (see page 240.) The wealth she had on-board at this time was inconsiderable, for Du Cassé had taken out most of the money, from some suspicion which he entertained of the commanding officer; so that the silver found on-board her was chiefly private property. The vice-admiral received a wound by a small shot in the engagement, of which he afterwards died. The merchantman in company with the galleon, was taken by the *Jersey*; she carried twenty-six guns, and was laden with cocoa and wool. The prisoners informed the commodore, that M. du Cassé had sailed two days before with the fleet; and was no sooner at sea than a storm separated them, and blew those ships into the hands

hands of the English. These captures were made with the loss of one man killed and six wounded in the action. Commodore Littleton, being well assured that the French commander would proceed with his fleet to the Havannah, determined to cruize a little to leeward of Point Pedro shoals, as the station most favourable for intercepting him before he reached that harbour; but being misled by false intelligence given by the master of a trading vessel which arrived at Jamaica, who made oath that eighteen French men of war had arrived at Martinico, the commodore returned to Jamaica in order to protect that island, against which he supposed the force of France would be directed. Soon after his arrival, he not only found that he had been deceived by the intelligence brought him, but that M. du Casse had got safe into the Havannah, very soon after the commodore had quitted his station. Here he found the *Thesis*, a French man of war which had been just taken; and soon after arrived the *Weymouth*, Captain Lestock, with a small privateer taken on the coast of Porto Rico. The commodore sent the *Anglesea*, *Fowey*, and *Scarborough*, to convoy the merchantmen to England; the latter of these ships had been taken from the French by the two former, upon the coast of Guinea, where not long before the French had taken her from us.

About this time, the French formed a design of attacking the Leeward-islands, and this, with the natural strength of their own colonies; for which purpose, they assembled in the month of May and June, about two thousand men in Martinico; these they embarked on-board a large ship, of thirty-six guns, a hagar-boat of twenty-four guns, two merchant-ships, and nine privateer sloops. They put to sea on the 10th of June, with an intent to land on the island of Antigua; but they were scarcely clear of their own island, before they met with the *Newcastle*, Captain Bourn, who attacked them briskly, and, notwithstanding it was

a calm, and they lay in such a manner, that he could not bring his broadside to bear upon them; yet, after an action of three hours, in which the French lost sixty-four men, he obliged them to relinquish their design, and avail themselves of the first breeze to return into a port of their own islands. Unwilling, however, absolutely to abandon their design, they refitted their vessels, and on the 16th of June landed near one thousand five hundred men on the island of Montserrat; they debarked the troops about twelve at night, and began to plunder the country; but, being informed that Captain Bourn sailed from thence that day, and was expected to return there the next, they re-embarked with such speed, that they left several of their party behind them, who were made prisoners by the inhabitants of the island. Whilst the French were intent on these schemes, Captain Leslie of the Diamond, in company with the Panther, cruised at a small distance off their coast, and took three of their transports.

In North America, the French had taken the fort of St. John's in Newfoundland by escalade; which had greatly strengthened them in those parts, where they had been before found to be too strong. To dispossess those invaders, a squadron of men of war was fitted out, consisting of the Dragon of 50 guns, Commodore George Martin; the Falmouth and Chester, 50 guns each, Captains Rydell and Matthews; the Leostoff, 32 guns, Captain George Gordon; Feversham, 36, Captain Robert Paston, and the Star bomb-ketch, Captain Thomas Rochfort. The command of the land-forces was given, to Colonel Francis Nicholson. This fleet proceeded to Boston in New England. The colony of Massachusetts's bay furnished a body of land-forces; and the fleet, having taken on-board 2000 troops, set sail on the 18th of September, 1710, for Port Royal in Nova Scotia, and on the 25th the landing was effected. On the 2d of October the French

garrison capitulated, one of the articles of which capitulation was, that the inhabitants within cannon-shot of Port-Royal should remain on their estates, with their corn, cattle, and furniture, for two years, in case they were not desirous of going before that time, they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to the queen of Great Britain. The term, "within cannon-shot," was afterwards explained to mean, three English miles round the fort, which district was from thenceforth called Annapolis Royal, in honour of Queen Anne. A list of the names of such persons as chose to continue there was delivered in to the governor, which included four hundred and eighty-one persons, male and female.

After this successful enterprize, the ships and troops returned to New England. The men of war and privateers continued to exert themselves with great success against the French. The Portland and Valeur took two very rich prizes, being valued at thirty thousand pounds, bound from France to Newfoundland, but soon after the Valeur was surprized in harbour and taken by the French.

In August 1711, Captain John Aldred, in the Rochester, Captain Humphry Pudner in the Severn, and Captain George Parvis in the Portland, visited all the harbours on the north side of Newfoundland, and ruined the French settlements wherever they went. All the fish, oil, staves, vats, boats, fishing-tackle, &c. fell into our hands, and were either taken or destroyed. And the only two ships which escaped, left their anchors and cables, and some of their sails, behind.

The English ministry had long viewed with a jealous eye the settlements which the French had made in Canada. A century had elapsed since the foundation of the town of Quebec was laid by Champlain, but so slow was the progress made by France in colonization, that in the year 1626 they had only three wretched settlements surrounded with pales, the largest of which contained

contained but fifty inhabitants, including men, women, and children. The climate had not proved destructive to the people sent there; though severe it was wholesome, and the Europeans strengthened their constitutions without endangering their lives. The little progress they made was entirely owing to an exclusive company, whose chief design was, not so much to create a national power in Canada, as to enrich themselves by the fur trade. The evil might have been immediately removed by abolishing this monopoly, and allowing a free trade, but the spirit of the French government at that time did not dispose it to introduce so beneficial a system. In 1662 new regulations took place in France respecting Canada. They sent a body of troops thither to defend their settlements from the attacks of the Iroquois Indians, a powerful nation on their south-western borders, whom the French had made their inveterate enemies by various acts of oppression and tyranny. By the means of this force the French gradually acquired an absolute superiority over the natives. A peace took place, which rendered the colony prosperous. A general freedom of trade was granted, except only the beaver trade, which continued to be monopolized, and this was indeed the staple article of traffic. The English who had possessed themselves of New Belgia, and called it New York, having established a trade with the Indians for furs, found the French traders greatly interfere with them in their traffic, on which account they had attempted some time before, to dislodge their rivals, but, finding themselves unequal to the task, they prevailed on the new British ministry to undertake the conquest of Canada. For this purpose General Nicholson came to England, and the plan of the expedition was laid in the spring of 1711. For this purpose five thousand men were brought from Flanders. The command of the land forces was given to General Hill, the brother of the new favourite Lady Masham; Sir Hoveden Walker, rear-

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rear-admiral of the white, commanded the fleet. The naval force sent out on this expedition was as follows :

Torbay,	Captain Moody,	500 men,	80 guns.
Monmouth,	Mitchell,	400	70
Sunderland,	Gore,	365	60
Diamond,	Lisle,	190	40
Devonshire,	Arris,	520	80
Edgar, Sir Hovenden	Walker,	440	70
Humber,	Culliford,	520	80
Montague,	Walton,	365	60
Kingston,	Winder,	365	60
Swiftsure,	Cooper,	400	70
Dunkirk,	Butler,	365	60

Together with the Bedford galley-frigate, Basilisk and Granada bombs, with the Experiment bomb tender. There were besides, thirty-three transports, with the regiments of Brigadier Hill, Colonels Windrefs, Clayton, and Kane, Lieutenant-general Seymour, Colonel Disney, Colonel Kirk, and a battalion of marines under the command of Colonel Charles Churchill, making in all, upwards of five thousand men, and eight transports and tenders belonging to the train.

In April 1711 a part of this armament sailed from Portsmouth, and in May from Plymouth. They took on-board a supply of provisions too scanty for the voyage which was before them, and great unskillfulness was discovered in the choice of the ships for the expedition, which were in general too large for the navigation of the river St. Laurence. The fleet having cleared land proceeded directly for Boston, where much time was taken up in laying in fresh stores, which might with greater expedition have been put on-board in England. In consequence of this delay, it was not until the 30th of July, that Admiral Walker sailed for the river St. Laurence. The first object of the expedition was the reduction of Quebec, which when effected, the fleet and troops were instructed to attack Placentia

Placentia in Newfoundland. The fleet and transports arrived off Gaspé-bay on the 18th of August, when tempestuous weather, and strong currents, drove them on the north shore among rocks and small islands, and exposed the whole armament to imminent danger of being lost. Eight transport ships were cast away, and almost nine hundred officers, soldiers, and seamen, perished: many of the other ships were also miserably shattered. A council of war was called on the 25th, composed of sea officers, by whom it was unanimously resolved, that, on account of the ignorance of the pilots, as well as the uncertainty and rapidity of the currents, it was impossible to proceed up the river St. Laurence with the men of war and transports as far as Quebec. The admiral hereupon brought the fleet into Spanish-river in the island of Cape Breton; where on the 8th of September a general council of war, composed of land and sea officers, was held, to deliberate on the expediency of attacking Placentia. It was the opinion of all present that the season was too far advanced to warrant such an attempt. Hereupon the troops from New England were sent back to that province, and the fleet returned to England, where it arrived on the 9th day of October, 1711.

As this was the first expedition set on foot by the new ministry, (although Lord Godolphin had projected such an enterprize whilst he was in power,) its ill success mortified them exceedingly, but its miscarriage ought to be imputed to the injudicious manner in which it was conducted. It may not be improper to mention here, what the Baron Lahontan, one of the first and most faithful of those French travellers in North America, who have written accounts of their discoveries, says, in his description of Canada, so long ago as the year 1703. "There is," says he, "a general opinion prevailing in Canada, that their colony will sooner or later be conquered by the English." The time for fulfilling this prediction was not then arrived.

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A few days after the arrival of the fleet at Spithead, the admiral's ship the *Edgar*, a third rate of seventy guns, blew up, whilst several hundred seamen were on-board, all of whom perished, together with many of their friends who were at that time on-board. The admiral was set out for London; all the commission-officers were on shore. The seamen, who although the most fearless of danger, are as much inclined to superstitious conceits as any set of people whatever, considered this disaster as ominous to the whole navy of Great Britain, because it was the oldest ship in the service; and, as this ship derived its name from a Saxon king, so a tradition prevailed that it was actually the ship in which King *Edgar* sailed, some part of the old vessel being constantly preserved every time that she had been rebuilt.

In this month arrived in the Downs two privateers, called the *Duke* and *Duchess*, commanded by the Captains *Woods Rogers* and *Stephen Courtney*, which had been fitted out by some merchants at Bristol, to cruize in the South Seas against the Spaniards in the year 1708. The *Duke* mounted thirty guns, and had 170 men on-board; the *Duchess* had twenty-six guns, and 150 men. The famous Capt. *Dampier*, whose voyages have made him known throughout Europe, was on-board one of these vessels, as pilot; they sailed from Bristol on the 1st of August, 1708, and, having happily passed the Streights of Magellan, they not only took several ships in the South Seas, but several towns also upon the coast; and on the 22d of December, 1709, they met with the *Acapulco* ship, that is, the smaller of the two ships which sail annually from the *Manillas* to Mexico; she was of the burden of 400 tons, and carried twenty guns, and as many parraroos. The action lasted about half an hour, and the value of the prize was about two million pieces of eight; the larger *Acapulco* ship fell also in their way, which they attacked two days successively; but, as she was of 900 tons burden, and had 600

men on-board, they found it impossible to take her, which made them determine to return by the East-Indies: so that they encompassed the world in three years and two months. These two ships, when on the western coast of South America, touched on a small island called Juan Fernandez for refreshments, where they found a Scots seaman, named Alexander Selkirk, who had resided on that uninhabited and unfrequented spot near five years, and in one of these ships he came back to England, and afterwards lived to revisit his long-lost native country.

The British ministry now embraced a pacific system, as the only one that could give permanency to their possession of power. In the month of October, a copy of preliminary articles between England and France were delivered to Count Galas, the Imperial ambassador at London, who immediately made them public, thereby appealing from the government to the people. The ministry were so much offended at his conduct, that the ambassador was forbidden the court, and even told that he might quit the kingdom. Lord Raby, upon this occasion created Earl of Strafford, was sent to Holland in September, to lay before the States the preliminary articles which had been received from France and approved by Great Britain. The States objected in vain; they sent over to London M. Buys as their envoy extraordinary, to represent to the queen the ground of their dislike to the terms on which the general peace of Europe was to be restored. But neither the remonstrances of the confederating powers, nor the discontents of the nation, could shake the resolution of Oxford and his associates; so that at length a congress was appointed to be held at Utrecht, on the 12th of January, 1712.

The parliament met on the 7th of December; the queen in her speech informed them of the steps which had been taken to restore the general tranquillity of Europe: she assured her parliament that she would not

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only endeavour to procure all reasonable satisfaction to her allies, but unite them in the strictest engagements to render permanent the public repose; adding, that the best way to treat with effect about a peace, was to make an early provision for carrying on the war: she therefore required the usual supplies. When the estimates were laid before the house of commons, a resolution was readily made that 40,000 seamen, including 8,000 marines, should be employed for the sea-service, and that one hundred and eighty thousand pounds should be employed for the ordinary of the navy. The whole amount of the supplies granted, was 6,656,967l.

The house likewise, to gratify the wishes of the ministry, followed up the charges against the Duke of Marlborough and his secretary, for peculation in the contracts for bread and bread-waggons for the army in Flanders. In support of this they produced the deposition of Sir Solomon de Medina, the contractor, who said, "That for the years 1707, 8, 9, 10, 11, he had been solely, or in partnership, concerned in the contracts for supplying bread and bread-waggons to the forces in the Low Countries, in the Queen of Great Britain's pay; and that he gave to the Duke of Marlborough, for his own use, on each contract, the several sums following, part of which was paid at the beginning and part at the end of each respective contract, in bills or notes delivered by the deponent into the duke's own hands, viz. For the year 1707, sixty-six thousand and six hundred guilders; for the year 1708, sixty-two thousand six hundred and twenty-five guilders; for the year 1709, sixty-nine thousand five hundred seventy-eight guilders, and fifteen stivers; for the year 1710, sixty-six thousand eight hundred and ten guilders, nineteen stivers, and eight pennings. Total, 265,614 guilders, 14 stivers, and 8 pennings. For the year 1711, twenty-one thousand guilders; which is in part of a like sum with those above-men-

tioned, intended to be paid at the end of the contracts for this year.

“ That he was obliged to allow yearly, during the time of his being contractor, twelve or fourteen waggons gratis to the Duke of Marlborough.

“ That during the time of his being contractor, as aforesaid, he gave, on sealing each contract, a gratuity of five hundred gold ducats to M. Cardonnel, secretary to the Duke of Marlborough.

“ That for all the money he received of M. Sweet, deputy paymaster at Amsterdam, he was obliged to pay one pound per cent. That the former contractor Machado did the same, and that he acquainted the Duke of Marlborough with the deduction of one per cent.

“ He farther deposed, that it appeared by the accounts of Antonio Alvarez Machado, who had been a contractor before him, and supplied the bread and bread-waggons to the forces in the English pay, for the years 1702, 3, 4, 5, and 6, that he said Machado, had paid as large yearly sums to the Duke of Marlborough, during the time of his being contractor, as this deponent has since done.

“ From whence it appears that the Duke of Marlborough has received, on account of the bread and bread waggons, contracts from Sir Solomon de Medina (admitting the same already paid, and what is intended to be paid for this present year 1711, to be the same with that of the preceding year 1710), 332,425 guilders, 14 stivers; from Antonio Alvarez Machado, during the five years he was contractor, the like sums; which together make 664,851 guilders, 8 stivers; and, computed at ten guilders and ten stivers to the pound sterling, amount to 63,319l. 3s. 7d.”

The DUKE'S ANSWER.---“ Having been informed that Sir Solomon de Medina has acquainted you with my having received several sums of money from him: that it might make the less impression on you, I would lose no time in letting you know, that this is no

more than what has been allowed as a perquisite to the general or commander in chief of the army in the Low Countries, even before the revolution and since : and I do assure you at the same time, that whatever sums I have received on that account have been constantly employed for the service of the public, in keeping secret correspondence, and getting intelligence of the enemy's motions and designs ; and it has fallen so far short, that I take leave to acquaint you with another article that has been applied to the same use, and which arises from her majesty's warrant, whereof the inclosed is a copy. Though this does not properly relate to the public accounts, being a free gift of the foreign troops, you will have observed by the several establishments, that before the late king's death, when the parliament voted forty thousand men for the quota of England in the Low Countries, twenty-one thousand six hundred and twelve were to be foreigners, and the rest English. For these last they gave ten thousand pounds a-year for intelligence and other contingencies, without account : but his majesty being sensible, by the experience of the last war, that this sum would not any ways answer that service, and unwilling to apply for more to the parliament, he was pleased to order that the foreign troops should contribute two a half per cent. towards it : and, being then his ambassador and commander in chief abroad, he directed me to propose it to them, with an assurance that they should have no other stoppage made from their pay ; this they readily agreed to, and her majesty was afterwards pleased to confirm it by her warrant, upon my acquainting her with the uses it was intended for ; and it has been accordingly applied from time to time for intelligence and secret services, with such success, that, next to the blessing of God, and the bravery of the troops, we may, in a great measure, attribute most of the advantages of the war in this country, to the timely and good advices procured with the help of this money. And
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now, gentlemen, as I have laid the whole matter fairly before you, and that I hope you will allow I served my queen and my country with that faithfulness and zeal which becomes an honest man; the favour I intreat of you is, that, when you make your report to the parliament, you will lay this part before them in its true light, so that they may see this necessary and important part of the war has been provided for and carried on without any other expence to the public than ten thousand pounds a-year. And I flatter myself, that, when the accounts of the army in Flanders come under your consideration, you will be sensible the service, on this side, has been carried on with all the œconomy and good husbandry to the public. MARLBOROUGH."

As to the bread contract, it appeared afterwards, upon the oath of Sir John Germaine, who had been aid de camp to Prince Waldeck, that that prince, as general in the Low Countries, had received the same perquisite; and as to the two and a half per cent. it likewise appeared that it was given voluntarily, and was offered to the Duke of Ormond. But the queen, on the 30th of December, being present in council, thought fit to declare, that, having notice of an information against the Duke of Marlborough before the house of commons, by the commissioners of the public accounts, she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might be the more impartially examined. This declaration was entered in the council book, and the queen the next day wrote a note to the Duke of Marlborough, wherein she signified the same thing to him. His grace received it with all imaginable submission, and wrote a very respectful answer, which he sent by the Countess of Sunderland, his daughter. Some time after the duke published his case, which, whatever weight it might have with the people in general, did not however satisfy the house of commons, wherein it was resolved, That the taking sums of money annually from the contractors of the bread

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bread and bread-waggons was unwarrantable and illegal; as also that the two and half per cent. deducted from the foreign troops, is public money, and ought to be accounted for. These resolutions were laid before the queen; and the house addressed her majesty to direct her attorney-general to prosecute his grace. No legal process, however, was set on foot, and the affair died away.

Towards the latter end of the year his highness Prince Eugene of Savoy came over into England. It was thought at that time, that those in the ministry treated him with very little respect, or rather with indignity, when they sent Messieurs Drummond and Brinsden to receive him; the former, at best, a decayed merchant and humble attendant on the treasurer; the latter, a sort of oculist, and an absolute dependant on Lord Bolingbroke. By some accident or other, Brinsden sprained his foot, so Drummond had the sole care of his highness, for whom he hired a barge at Gravesend, and, together with Count Nassau Woudebourg, son to the late Field-marshal d'Auverquerque, his nephew, and some other persons of distinction, he landed at Whitehall, from whence his highness went in a hackney coach to Leicester house, which Count Galas left fitted up for his reception. What conversation Mr. Drummond had with his highness remains a secret, excepting only the following instructive hint, which this minister of a minister thought fit to drop to his highness, "That the less he saw the Duke of Marlborough the better;" to which his highness answered, with his usual plainness, "That, as the ministry might be assured he would not cabal against them, so he hoped they did not expect he should alter his usual behaviour to his good friend the Duke of Marlborough." His highness was generally conceived to have made this journey with much the same view that Mons. Buys came envoy from the States of Holland, viz. to try whether it was not possible to persuade the queen to
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carry on the war; if it was so, his highness was certainly disappointed; for at his first audience the queen referred him for business to the treasurer and Mr. Secretary St. John, and never would be brought to confer privately with him herself. His highness was mightily carested while here by all sorts of people; he dined publicly with the Dukes of Marlborough, Ormond, Montague, Grafton, Shrewsbury, Buckinghamshire, Devonshire, and Richmond; Earls Poulet, Portland, Sunderland, Wharton, Rivers, Stairs, Orkney, and Oxford, which last-mentioned nobleman was pleased to tell him, "That he should esteem that day the happiest of his whole life, in which he had the honour to see in his house the greatest captain of his age;" to which his highness replied, with great quickness, "that, if it were so, he owed it to his lordship;" alluding to his having procured the Duke of Marlborough's commission to be taken from him. The queen on her birth-day made the prince a present of a sword set with diamonds, valued at five thousand pounds; but as to the answer given by Mr. Secretary St. John to his memorials, they were not to his wish, so that he left England very well satisfied with the people, but little pleased with the ministry. As for the Duke of Marlborough, though all the methods possible were used to distress him, yet he preserved his temper, came frequently to the house of lords, spoke his mind freely, and, when the service of the house no longer required it, retired to St. Alban's, where he lived as privately as possible, and as quietly as his enemies would let him.

A treaty having been entered into between Viscount Townsend and the States of the United Provinces, by which certain towns in Flanders were assigned to the latter as a barrier when the war should terminate, that treaty next became the subject of parliamentary enquiry. Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other places situated on the Lys and the Scheld,
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which had been thereby guaranteed to the states, and which France, in her former overtures for peace, had agreed to give up, were now thought by the pacific party too great a surrender for that kingdom to make. The house therefore voted that several articles in the barrier treaty were destructive to the trade and interest of Great Britain; that Lord Townsend had neither orders nor authority to conclude those pernicious articles; that therefore, he who negotiated and signed the treaty, was an enemy to the queen and kingdom.

The commons next went into an examination of the conduct of the allies, with respect to their furnishing their proper quotas for the war. It appeared upon this enquiry, that not one of the confederates, except Great Britain, had fulfilled their engagements. That the emperor, in particular, who had most to gain by the war, contributed the least towards its expence. That the States of the United Provinces had not come up in any article to the terms of their treaties. That the King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy made a lucrative trade of the war, by procuring from their friends those advantages which they ought to have wrested from their enemies. The commons came to various resolutions on this important subject: the princes and states, who composed the confederacy, were treated with great freedom in the debates. Such proceedings were highly resented by the respective ministers, who complained that the British nation insulted their friends to facilitate a dishonourable treaty with a faithless enemy, who presumed to dictate the terms of peace after having been almost totally subdued in the war.

Whilst the pursuit of peace thus introduced discord and contention into the nation, the negotiation at Utrecht met with many weighty impediments. As the unexpected death of the emperor Joseph seemed to ensure the repose of Europe, so other unlooked-for deaths, at this critical juncture, threatened to impede its completion. The dauphin of France, the only son

of Louis XIV. died at the age of fifty; his son the Duke of Burgundy died soon after, then the latter's eldest son the Duke of Brittany. Of three sons born to the Duke of Burgundy, only the Duke of Anjou, a sickly infant, survived. This surprizing mortality in the royal family of France, led even the English ministry to demand new securities for the stability of the peace, and for preventing the kingdoms of France and Spain being under the government of the same sovereign.

The French king was so well assured of the pacific inclinations of those with whom he had to treat, that he even renounced all evasion, and roundly insisted on the absolute hereditary right, by which princes possess their crowns, which they derive from God alone, and therefore no human compacts can make void; so that this link in the chain that binds together the community cannot be broken. He went so far as to assert, that, should the King of Spain renounce his right of succeeding to the crown of France, on failure of his elder brother's issue, for the sake of peace, that renunciation, however solemnly made, could not deprive him of a right, which was inherently lodged in him, and which it was not in his power to divest himself of. After such an open declaration of the nugatory tendency of the most solemn renunciation in the matter of succession to a crown, the acceptance of it was an affront to the understanding of the nation. However, to colour over the transaction, Louis XIV. wrote a letter to his grandson, Philip, desiring him in the most solemn manner to renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to refer his contingent right thereto to the Duke of Berry.

The emperor, being now determined to shew his zeal in the common cause, sent a large army into Flanders; the Dutch also made an extraordinary effort, and even furnished beyond their contingent. The confederates took the field in Flanders the end of April, their army amounting to one hundred and twenty-two thousand

and

land men. At the head of the Imperial forces, was Prince Eugene; the Duke of Ormond now commanded the British forces, and such troops as were in British pay. Queen Anne, whose resentment against France was quite disarmed, had determined that nothing should be effected against that kingdom; otherwise, had Marlborough been continued in the command, at the head of such an army, and seconded by the Prince of Savoy, the year 1712 would most probably have dismembered France of some of her richest provinces; but Ormond was sent over to the continent with secret instructions not to act offensively.

Marshal Villars was strongly entrenched behind the Scheld; but the penetrating eye of Eugene discovered an assailable quarter, by which he determined to attack that general. This resolution he communicated to the Duke of Ormond, and asked the assistance of his troops. Ormond could then no longer conceal the nature of his orders; he declined leading his troops on in the attempt to dislodge the French.

As soon as intelligence of this event reached the Hague, the States sent a remonstrance to the court of London. The nation felt the indignity which had been cast upon it, the house of lords expressed their resentment at the conduct of the general, but the ministry were too deeply intrenched to regard these commotions.

Notwithstanding these altercations, Prince Eugene persisted in the resolution he had taken of besieging Quesnoy, a small but very strong town in the province of Hainault, and territory of Valenciennes, eighteen miles south-west of Mons, and as many north-east of Cambray. General Fagel invested it with thirty battalions and as many squadrons, and on the eighth of June the Duke of Ormond, notwithstanding the declarations already mentioned, actually covered the siege with the British troops and those in British pay. The trenches were opened between the 19th and 20th, and the siege carried on with all imaginable vigour. On

the 24th the Duke of Ormond sent to desire a conference with Prince Eugene and the deputies of the States, which accordingly was held the next morning, wherein his grace declared that he had received orders from her majesty to publish a cessation of arms for three months between her majesty's troops and those of the most Christian king; that he was directed to do this in three days, as also to send a detachment of ten battalions to take possession of Dunkirk, which the most Christian king had declared himself ready to put into her hands. His grace added farther, that he had orders to propose the same suspension of arms should be published in the army of his highness. Prince Eugene desired that time might be given, as well to himself as to the deputies of the States, to acquaint their respective sovereigns with the declaration; to which his grace answered, that it was not in his power to exceed his orders. He likewise informed his highness, that, if he persisted in the siege, he could cover it no longer. The duke however was prevailed on not to be hasty, as he at first declared he would be; but Prince Eugene pressing the siege of Quesnoy with much greater vigour than ever, his grace thought himself obliged to send him notice, that, if he expected he should continue in that neighbourhood with his troops, his highness should discontinue his attacks. To which Prince Eugene thought fit to answer, that far from slackening his proceedings, as he requested, he should prosecute the siege with more diligence than ever, and that he did not doubt he should render his grace a witness of a more important expedition. Henceforward, all friendly intercourse between these generals ceased. The duke sent his orders in writing to the generals in chief of the troops in the pay of Great Britain, to hold themselves ready to march; but those generals gave him to understand that they should pay no regard to that order, but remain with Prince Eugene, excepting only Major-general Berner, who commanded four squadrons and one battalion.

talion of the troops of Holstein Gottorp, and Major-general Walef, who commanded a regiment of Liegeois dragoons ; so that, after ten years receiving British pay, these gentlemen let the world into the secret, that they were obedient to the orders of British generals as long as they liked them. The 1st of July the counterescarp of Quesnoy was carried by assault ; and, on the 3d, Lieutenant-general Labadie surrendered the place, himself and his garrison, consisting of 2700 men, remaining prisoners of war.

On the 15th in the evening, Prince Eugene sent an aid de camp to let the Duke of Ormond know that he should decamp next day, and that, if he pleased, he might confer with him. The duke returned him an answer in writing to this purpose, That he thought it odd to have such a message sent him by a plain aid de camp, and only twelve or fifteen hours before he must be obliged to march ; that as they had taken no measures together, either as to marching or any other enterprize, he thought his highness had no reason to expect that he should accompany or assist him in operations about which he had never been consulted ; that he took the liberty of giving his highness this notice, that he might regulate his affairs accordingly, and not attribute to him any mischief which might happen hereafter ; and that he believed it also proper to acquaint his highness, that, if he should decamp and leave him, he should be obliged to take the best measures he could for the security of the queen's troops. On the 16th of July the armies separated ; the Danish, Prussian, Saxon, and Hanover, troops, in the pay of Great Britain, followed Prince Eugene : his highness encamped at Atre near Landrecies, which the Prince of Anhalt Dessau invested the next morning with thirty-four battalions and as many squadrons, supported by the grand army under Prince Eugene, the left of which joined his camp, and the right extended along the Scheld towards Denain, where the allies had an intrenched camp to
cover

cover the bringing up of their artillery, ammunition, and provisions, which came by water from their magazines in Flanders.

The Duke of Ormond on the 17th caused the suspension of arms to be published in his camp, as the Marshal de Villars had already done in his. The British troops repassed the Schelde and the Scarpe, and came to Ghent and Bruges, where they continued all the rest of the campaign.

Prince Eugene, to give the French a taste of what he intended after Landrecies was reduced, sent Brigadier Grovestein, at the head of 2800 horse, to penetrate into that kingdom; this detachment marched in small bodies, which did not unite till they were at twenty-five leagues distance from the camp: they marched three days and three nights without resting, except an hour or two in the night to refresh their horses. They ravaged, plundered, and burnt, several open towns and villages in the dioceses of Rheims and Chalons, terrifying all the country round about, by declaring that Prince Eugene was but a day's march from them with 25000 men; retiring through the country of Metz, they did no less mischief there, and at last got safe to Traerback, loaded with money, booty, and hostages. Marshal Villars, as soon as he had intelligence of it, sent after them M. de St. Fremont with 4000 horse; but the allies, having a day's march of him, could not be overtaken, though they came time enough to find eighteen villages within sight of Metz smoking and in ruins. Villars complained loudly of this, as contrary to the established laws of arms, and tending to no good end, but, on the contrary, merely to harass and destroy an innocent people.

The reader has been already informed that his highness had an intrenched camp at Denain, an abbey and village seated on the Schelde, between Valenciennes and Bouchain, which covered St. Amand, Mortagne, and Marchiennes, posts of great consequence on the Scarpe, between

between Tournay and Douay, in the last of which were the principal magazines for the army : for the farther security of this place, there was a double line of communication from the retrenchments of Denain to Fenin, which is at the end of the road to Marchiennes, on this side the morafs. The right line began at the old lines which the French drew up in the year 1709, after the battle of Malplaquet, and reached to the dike of Fenin. The left was between Denain and Lourche, running by the side of the Escandain, quite to the before-mentioned dike. It was between these two lines that the convoys passed from Marchiennes to Denain, and from thence to the army before Landrecies, behind another line.

Villars knew very well the consequences which would attend the loss of the town now besieged, which once taken, there was nothing to hinder excursions in the winter to the very gates of Paris ; he therefore resolved, at all events, to do something to save this place. Two things offered themselves to his mind, either to fight Prince Eugene or to deprive him of his magazines. The former he pretended to fix on, but the latter was his real choice. As soon as he had determined, he made such dispositions, and gave such orders, as persuaded every body that he would attack the army of observation in its entrenchments ; nay, he carried the thing so far, that Eugene at last believed it himself, and provided accordingly.

The troops encamped at Denain consisted of ten battalions and twenty-three squadrons ; they were posted along the retrenchment from left to right, the cavalry and infantry being intermixed. The artillery was placed in a park behind the camp, with a vast quantity of ammunition which had been left there after the siege of Quesnoy was finished. Brigadier Berkhoffer, at the head of four battalions and three squadrons, covered the barges laden with ammunition, artillery, and provisions, at Marchiennes.

The enemy on the 19th passed the Schelde above and below Cambray, drawing together all their troops, and withdrawing all their detachments from the posts along the Senfet, Marshal Villars giving out that he was now resolved to fight. Prince Eugene put his troops under arms, and sent orders to the Earl of Albemarle, commander in chief of the Dutch troops, to be ready to march in case of need. The Earl of Albemarle executed exactly the prince's orders; he likewise caused abridge to be begun, and directed five or six hundred labourers to work thereat, so that it would have been finished in a day or two at most, if the enemy had not attacked him in the interim. A convoy from Tournay arrived in the mean time, escorted by two battalions, which battalions had orders to remain at Beaurepaire, under the command of Brigadier Berk-hoffer, who had by this time six battalions and three squadrons. The Earl of Albemarle sent that gentleman orders, that, in case he found the French had any design upon Marchiennes, he should immediately march and encamp his troops between the Scarpe and the great morafs, through which, as there lay but one narrow path to the barges, so it had on one side the priory of Hamage, and on the other the fort of Riolet, both of which were well secured. The enemy were continually in motion on the side of the Sambre, in order to give the allies to understand that they had their eyes on the siege of Landrecies, and were taking measures to raise it; and, to render this still the more probable, they caused several bridges to be thrown over the Sambre, and took all the steps necessary for them to have taken in case they had designed to attack Prince Eugene in his lines, though in reality his sole view was to cut off the troops at Denain, and to possess himself of Marchiennes. To this end he sent orders to the garrison of Valenciennes to be ready to march; and on the 23d about noon, he sent all his hussars to patrol up and down the great roads between Cambray,

bray, Bouchain, and the grand army ; he at the same time posted guards of horse and foot on all the passages of the Selle and Schelde, to prevent our having any intelligence of his true design. About seven in the evening he detached M. de Coigny, with thirty squadrons of dragoons to advance towards the lines of circumvallation before Landrecies, as if he intended to attack them that night ; but at the same time he detached the Marquis de Vieuxpont, with thirty battalions, all the pontons, and a brigade of cavalry ; as also Lieutenant-general Albergotti, with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, to sustain him ; and, as soon as he was on his march, the marshal and his army followed, the heavy baggage being sent to St. Quintin and Ham. Count Broglio covered the march of the infantry with forty-nine squadrons, having strict orders also to observe that no body crossed the little river Selle to give notice of their march. They marched all night through the plains between the Selle and the Schelde, so that by break of day their van arrived at Nieuville on the last-mentioned river, over which bridges were immediately thrown for them to pass. Notwithstanding that my Lord Albemarle had continually a great number of spies on all the roads in his neighbourhood to watch the motions of the enemy, yet they gave him no intelligence of their march, either because they were seized by the enemy's guards, or because they found the river so well secured that they durst not attempt to pass. On the 21st in the morning, Major-general Bothmar gave notice that he observed the enemy about Avesnelessec. Albemarle immediately dispatched a person to Prince Eugene, to intreat him to come in person to his assistance : he fired also six pieces of cannon, as well to give notice to Bouchain, Marchiennes, and St. Amand, as to recal the horses from pasture belonging to the squadrons under his command, and those in the camp : the horses were immediately brought in, and the cavalry mounted as

fast as possible. The Earl of Albemarle detached likewise sixteen squadrons through the plain on his left, in order to dispute with the enemy the passage at Nieufville, not knowing that their bridges were laid there, and that their troops had passed already, because that passage lay in a bottom, with a rising ground between the camp and it; but, as soon as the sixteen squadrons had passed that rising ground, they saw a great body of horse and foot advancing towards them. Albemarle, thinking it not proper to suffer sixteen squadrons to attack so numerous a corps, recalled them. He likewise detached some squadrons to hinder the enemy's junction with the troops from Valenciennes, but the vigilance of Marshal Villars, and the expedition of the garrison, frustrated that design.

When the earl perceived that the camp would be undoubtedly attacked, he posted his ten battalions along the retrenchment, under the command of Lieutenant-general Count Dhona and the other general officers. About ten, Prince Eugene arrived with several general officers; he viewed in person the march and motions of the enemy, he visited the entrenchments, approved the disposition of the infantry, and ordered that the cavalry which had passed the Schelde should repass it as soon as possible, because he saw that they could not there be of any use. He observed likewise, that these ten battalions drawn up three deep, left a great part of the entrenchment unguarded; to remedy this inconvenience, he ordered six Imperial and Palatine battalions who were next at hand, in the new line of communication, between Thian and Denain, to take post on the right.

The enemy by this time were in order of battle, all the dispositions being made with the utmost hurry, in order to attack the allies before they could receive any reinforcement from the grand army, to which end thirty battalions, eighty companies of grenadiers, the piquet of the army, and all the dragoons, advanced on foot.

foot. These dragoons formed the first column, their right marching by the meadows along the river-side towards the entrenchment before the left wing of the allies; the thirty battalions, the grenadiers, and the piquet, formed two other columns between that of the dragoons and the lines of communication: these two columns were supported by thirty other battalions, and those battalions by all the rest of their horse and foot. We cannonaded them as fiercely as it was possible with six pieces of cannon, which were placed upon two batteries in the centre; and the enemy on their side played upon us with some pieces which were before their right wing on an eminence over against the entrenchments. The Earl of Albemarle gave intelligence to Prince Eugene of all the enemy's motions, who remained in a redoubt on the other side of the Schelde, where he could have an exact view of the whole affair. The Earl of Albemarle sent to demand his last orders, and his highness having sent him what instructions he thought necessary, added that he hoped he would defend himself as long as possible, and that in the mean time all the infantry of the grand army should advance to his assistance. Lord Albemarle took all the precautions possible, in order to give the enemy a warm reception; he ordered the three openings of the entrenchments to be strongly barricaded; and, perceiving that the enemy were likely to make their utmost efforts in the centre, he sent orders to Count Dhona, that, in case they should force it there, he should immediately attack them in flank, with the battalions under his command, in order to force them to retire, which that general afterwards performed, but without effect. All things being in order, about one o'clock the enemy began the attack, with the greatest bravery and the best order imaginable. The first place which felt the fury of their arms was a redoubt, in which the regiment of Weldderen was posted, against which their first column of dismounted dragoons advanced: that regiment fired

upon them with great fury, but the French pushed them notwithstanding to the parapet of the entrenchments, and the parapet consisting of fascines and stones, and the ground being likewise stony, it fell all at once into the ditch, which gave the enemy an opportunity of entering with their bayonets at the head of their pieces, so that the entrenchment was forced on that side, upon which the troops threw down their arms on every side, and fled with amazing precipitation, some towards a bridge of pontoons, and some towards a water-mill.

The Earl of Albemarle, and the other general officers, did all that was possible to rally those in the center; for, as to the left wing where Count Dhona and the Count de Nassau Woudenburg commanded, they were cut off by the enemy from the rest of the troops. Upon this he attempted to throw some regiments into the houses and abbey on the right of Denain; as some of the troops were then in tolerable order, he thought they followed him, but, turning his head a minute after, he found himself almost alone, surrounded by the enemy. He did not however despair: he called, he made signals with his hat, but to no purpose, he was forced to surrender; and Marshal Villars, to prevent any accident which might be fatal to him in the hurry, sent him immediately to Valenciennes. In the mean time the infantry threw themselves by hundreds at a time into the river, where numbers were drowned, a multitude slaughtered, and upwards of 2000 made prisoners; about 4000 came afterwards to the grand army. Among those that were drowned were Lieutenant-general Count Dhona, and Major-general Count Nassau Woudenberg, son of the late Field-marshal d'Auverquerque, whose good qualities made him exceedingly regretted. Amongst those who were made prisoners were Lieutenant-general Secquin, Major-generals, Prince of Holstein, Messieurs Dalberg and Zobel; Count de la Lippe, colonel; Messieurs Teugnagel,

trigel, Cavenagh, Spaen, and Greck, also colonels; Lieutenant-colonels Donnelly, Herbshausen, Heuske, Brakel, Munich, and Els; six majors, forty-four captains, a hundred and nine subaltern officers, fifty-six troopers, four aid de camps, and several officers belonging to the train. Prince Eugene had brought up fourteen battalions to the very bank of the Schelde, but they could not pass, because the only remaining bridge, the other being sent away the day before by the Prince's express directions, was crowded with horse and baggage, and unhappily broke with them all upon it. The wooden bridge was also unfinished, so that all these troops could do was to look on, and to cover the runaways in their flight.

The enemy's army, according to this account, which is taken almost verbatim from M. Rouffet, (whose impartiality, on this occasion, cannot be questioned,) consisted of 133 battalions and 250 squadrons. It encamped after this action with its left towards the height of Hurtebize, its center at Escandin, and its right near Bouchain, its first line fronting the Schelde, its second the Scarpe. The misfortune of Denain did not come alone, it was followed by the loss of St. Amand, Mortagne, Hasnon, and in short all the posts upon the Schelde; so that the number of the allies made prisoners was quickly increased to 3315 men, officers included.

Marchiennes was a most important place, as well on account of its situation in impenetrable morasses, having only two ways leading thereto, as because it was filled with the ammunition and provisions designed for the army, and had besides in it a magazine of reserve, from whence it was intended that all the places in its neighbourhood should be supplied with what they wanted. They had made a place of arms there, and the vessels made use of on the Schelde and Scarpe were laid up there: it had on one side for its defence a strong wall, on the other an entrenchment well palisaded, with a ditch and three half moons, so that it was really

really thought capable of making a good defence; its strong situation being also considered, which alone would have been sufficient to have deterred a less enterprising general than the Marshal de Villars from expecting to reduce it in so short a time as he publicly gave out he would reduce it in, which nevertheless he effected, his troops being now of their general's opinion, that they were able to do any thing. Count Broglio appeared before the place on the 25th with a considerable body of troops, and summoned Brigadier Berkhofter to surrender; but he having a good garrison, and having also received a considerable reinforcement from Douay, refused, and at the same time sent the count word that he did not doubt of defending the place till it was relieved. Upon this Marshal Montesquieu desired leave to command this siege in person, which Marshal Villars very readily granted. He arrived there the next day, and, having attacked in person a redoubt which covered the Scarpe and bilanders, made himself master of it in spite of a vigorous resistance. On the 27th the trenches were opened at two attacks, and on the 29th they fired with twenty pieces of cannon upon the place. On the 30th Marshal Villars arrived in person with eleven battalions, and, though the breaches were very indifferent, made preparations for an immediate assault. Brigadier Berkhofter, conceiving it to be of no use to have himself and his garrison cut to pieces, beat the chamade, and offered to surrender upon honourable terms; but Marshal Villars answered him roundly, that, according to the modern custom of making war, he could grant him no terms but those of surrendering prisoners of war: upon this hostilities were renewed; but, the breaches becoming practicable, the brigadier was forced to accept of the terms offered him, and to surrender himself and his garrison, consisting of about 5000 men, prisoners. The marshal however, to soften it as much as possible, suffered them to march through the breach with all military

tary honours; a poor recompence for the mighty loss they sustained, in giving up all their magazines into the hands of the enemy. The French took here a hundred bilanders, exclusive of those which had on-board them three hundred thousand weight of powder, and which the Dutch commissary caused to be sunk in the Scarpe before the siege; a hundred pieces of fine cannon; three hundred waggons with their harnesses; the hospital of the army; with bombs, grenadoes, bullets, musket-ball, powder, corn, meal, hams, bacon, cheese, beer, wine, brandy, ladders, hatchets, &c. sufficient for two sieges; and, what was also of considerable advantage to the French, a great number of horses both for draught and service.

The success of Marshal Villars in these important enterprizes on Denain and Marchiennes changed the face of affairs in Europe, as well as the conversation of politicians. The French affected to magnify the consequence of the English forces in the confederate army: Marshal Villars is reported to have called them the brazen wall of the allies, and Mons. de Torcy could not help observing, and leaving that observation to posterity, by committing it to writing, "That the confederates might now see what they had lost by her majesty's withdrawing her forces, and what value they ought to put upon a nation which carried victory wherever its arms appeared." At the Hague and at London, the loss of the Duke of Marlborough was by many thought greater than that of the British troops. His grace had never been deceived, and this to many seemed an irrefragable proof that it was impossible he should; from whence they inferred, that the business of Denain would never have happened if he had commanded. The French admit this, and Monsieur de Quincy, in his recapitulation of the events of this campaign, attributes the success of his most Christian majesty's arms as much to the oversight of the confederate generals, as to the skill and vigilance of Marshal Villars.

Villars. But, if the credit of a general depends not on events, but on his acting in the best manner possible, considering the situation of things, thus much will be due to M. Villars, if Prince Eugene had suspected his design on Denain, that suspicion would have put an end to all the marshal's schemes; there was therefore some merit in taking such precautions as kept his highness still in his first opinion, that the marshal intended to attack him in his camp, which the march of M. de Coigny, with his thirty squadrons, effectually did. Some people in Holland were for throwing the whole weight of this unfortunate business on the Earl of Albemarle; so that nobleman thought fit to publish a very exact account of the action, to clear his own reputation; besides which, there appeared about the same time a letter from the field deputies to the States, and a letter from Prince Eugene to a minister of state, which entirely cleared the Earl of Albemarle.

Prince Eugene, notwithstanding the misfortune of Denain, resolved to carry on the siege of Londrecies; but all the provisions from Mons were so long coming, that the soldiers had not a morsel of bread for six days, so that his highness was constrained to think of raising the siege, and on the 29th accordingly sent away all the heavy artillery to Quesnoy. On the 2d of August he decamped, and marched towards Mons. On the 8th. he encamped between Seckleis and Ferin, whither on the 12th he caused a new train of artillery to be brought from Lisle and Menin.

Villars in the mean time was meditating new conquests; and, as a place of the greatest consequence at that time, resolved to begin with Douay, against the advice of most of his general officers, who were afraid of undertaking so hazardous an enterprize in sight of a great army commanded by Prince Eugene. It is certain that Douay would not have cost much time if general Hompesch had not trusted more to himself than to any body else. As soon as he heard of the misfortune at

Marchiennes, he took all imaginable precautions for the security of Douay, the works of which had been lately considerably increased, and by an odd sort of management the garrison lessened, with this further mischief, that there was neither ammunition nor provision for the garrison that was left. Hompesch instantly recalled all the guards posted in his neighbourhood, he drew three battalions out of Lisle and Bethune, he caused provisions to be brought in from all sides, and by his industry procured a considerable supply of ammunition; he reinforced the garrison of fort Scarpe to five hundred men; and, having augmented his own to nine battalions, though miserably incomplete, he applied himself with the utmost diligence to put the place into a posture of defence. He appointed officers who were best acquainted with that service, to act as engineers, of whom he had few in the place; and, having settled commissaries to take care of the provisions, he caused a certain quantity of bread, meat, and tobacco, to be given daily to every soldier, to prevent, as far as in him lay, their feeling any severity during the siege. His precautions stood him in good stead, though his apprehensions were by some thought too great; but on the eighth of August every body was undeceived by Marshal Villars's causing the place to be invested. By an inadvertency scarce to be paralleled, the lines made use of by the allies were all this time left undemolished, so that the marshal had nothing to do but to take possession of them. Where they were weak, viz. from Pont Arache to Pont Auby, he caused new retrenchments to be thrown up, which he lined with his best troops, Count Albergotti commanding the right, and Count Broglio the left. The French opened the trenches before Douay and fort Scarpe both at a time, and not without very considerable loss. Hompesch made a very gallant defence, and supplied the French so well with water in their trenches, that till fort Scarpe was reduced they laboured under terrible difficulties.

After the taking fort Scarpe, and Prince Eugene's retiring out of its neighbourhood, Villars, finding no farther occasion for them, withdrew his troops out of the plains of Lens, placing his general quarters on the side of Valenciennes, and pressing the siege of Douay more warmly than ever. On the 7th of September he resolved to attack the three lunettes and the covered way, in order to which he made use of the bridges taken at Marchiennes, without which he could never have effected it. All things being adjusted for the attack, M. Albergotti and the Marquis de Silly went to the left to serve under the Chevalier de Broglio, that the troops might be encouraged by their presence. Marshal Villars was present himself in the centre, with M. le Duc and the Marshal de Montesquieu. The troops fought with a great deal of bravery, though they were in some places up to their shoulders in water; but M. Hompesch, who was also there in person, made such a terrible defence, that, after losing four captains of grenadiers, and as many hundred men, the French were forced to retire. As soon as the action was over, the Marshal, having received advice that the allies had passed the Schelde at Tournay, put himself instantly at the head of the greatest part of the forces, and, having passed the same river at Valenciennes, left the care of the siege to M. Albergotti. The day after the Marshal's departure, M. Albergotti attacked and made himself master of a redoubt on the left, upon which Count Hompesch, apprehending the place would be infallibly carried by assault, beat the chamade at ten o'clock in the morning, and sent out hostages. On advice of this, the Marshal returned in person to the siege, where he was informed that M. Hompesch demanded the same terms that had been given to M. Albergotti when he commanded this place. The marshal said he was sorry that Prince Eugene had set him such a lesson, since the law of reprisals was to fall on an officer of such merit; but, considering the treatment

the garrison of Quesnoy had received, M. Hompesch could not be surprised that he insisted on making him and his garrison prisoners of war. M. Hompesch, having considered attentively the condition things were in, accepted these conditions, hard as they were; the marshal, however, suffered all the officers of distinction to go for six months on their parole. The garrison was reduced to seventeen hundred men, though there had been but twenty-four days open trenches; whereas M. Albergotti kept that place fifty-four days, and obtained an honourable capitulation at last. At Douay the French found a great quantity of artillery, 200,000 weight of powder, but no ball.

Two days before the surrender of Douay, Quesnoy was invested by M. de Coigny and two other lieutenant-generals; on the 10th they were joined by the Marshals Villars and Montesquieu. Prince Eugene, having passed the Schelde on the 7th at Tournay, passed the Trouille on the 10th, and encamped at St. Guillain, with his left at Malplaquet; but finding, that, in spite of all his diligence, Quesnoy was invested, he remained there for some time a spectator of the siege. M. d'Ivoy commanded in the place, a French refugee, but a major-general in the Dutch service. He had seven battalions under his command, and a very considerable number of bombardiers, cannoneers, and other persons belonging to the train, who were of great use to him during the siege. As he had fifty pieces of heavy cannon in the town, and a prodigious quantity of ammunition, he was not at all frugal, but thundered on the French with these and twenty mortars, in such a manner that they lost a great number of men. The French having provided themselves with a great train from Valenciennes and other places, a warmer siege was never seen. In the night of the 29th, Villars caused the two lunettes which defended the covered-ways, and the two covered-ways also, to be attacked; to this end he drew out all the grena-

diers belonging to the regiments, entering into and leaving the trenches; but, when the signal was given for beginning the attack, by firing a bomb in the centre, the French engineers sprung two mines, one under each of the lunettes, which threw two hundred and thirty Dutch officers and soldiers into the air, wounded many who were posted on the covered-ways, and left them open to the French troops, who immediately began the attack. The besieged, notwithstanding, defended these posts with great resolution, so that it cost the French twenty officers and a hundred private men, before they carried them. Marshal Villars was all this time present in person; and apprehending that the Dutch would return in the night, and attempt driving his grenadiers from their lodgments, he remained upon the spot till one in the morning, notwithstanding that the sleeve of his coat had been carried away by the bursting of a bomb within half a yard of him. It is certain, that the marshal's apprehensions would not have been in vain, if the besieged had been in any condition to have attacked his troops; but the hard duty they had sustained left so few men able to mount their guards, that they found it impracticable to undertake any thing; and therefore on the 4th of October, perceiving the breach almost practicable, they beat the chamade, and demanded honourable conditions; to which the marshal answered, that, if they did not deliver him up a gate in an hour, he would grant them no conditions at all. The officers of the garrison insisted that the great quantity of artillery and ammunition in the place, which would all fall into his hands, upon their surrender, deserved better treatment; to which he replied, that he had all the regard in the world for their artillery and ammunition, otherwise he should have made the siege of Mons instead of visiting them. In fine, he promised them that the soldiers should not be stripped, that their officers should keep their swords, and that they should have leave to go
either

either to Holland or England for six months upon their parole; which terms being accepted, the place was evacuated on the 5th, and the garrison, consisting of fifteen hundred men, disarmed and sent prisoners into France.—The French took here, according to their own account, a hundred and sixteen pieces of heavy cannon, a vast number of smaller pieces, and a hundred and forty mortars, a vast quantity of bombs, bullets, and grenades, and 500,000 weight of powder.—Marshal Villars immediately sent part of the heavy artillery to Bouchain, the siege of which was presently undertaken; the remaining part of the artillery was sent to Valenciennes, that it might be out of danger. Prince Eugene in the mean time made a motion on the 29th of September, and encamped behind the Trouille, having his right at Guevry, his left at Grand Rieng de Cambries, and his centre at Rouvrois, three leagues from Mons, and at the same distance from Maubeuge.

In the night between the 3d and 4th of October, the partizan la Rue, with a detachment from the garrison of Ostend, marched to surprise fort Knoque; this was a design of Prince Eugene's, and the only one which took effect this campaign; for M. la Rue did his business effectually, he cut the throats of the centinels at the barrier, surprised the commandant and his little garrison, and took possession of the place.—The French attempted to recover it, by sending the governor of Ypres with two thousand men to make a show of investing it, but in reality to tempt la Rue, by the offer of 10,000 crowns in ready money, a pension of 5000 livres per annum, and a regiment of dragoons, to deliver up the place: to which he answered, that he would not lose the honour of this exploit for all the preferments in France. The next day General Murray moved that way with his flying camp, whereby the possession of that place was secured to the allies.

Marshal Villars had an earnest desire to close the campaign with the taking of Bouchain; but was at
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the same time very desirous of sparing his troops, which were already exceedingly harassed with the sieges they had made. To answer both these ends, he drew together forty battalions which had been in garrison during the sieges of Douay and Quesnoy; these he replaced from the army, and with the forty battalions first mentioned, and twenty-four squadrons, M. d'Alegré invested Bouchain on the 2d of October. As for the grand army, M. de Villars disposed things so well, that it remained in the camp at Quesnoy, its headquarters only being changed. M. Grovestein, who commanded the troops in their memorable expedition into France, was governor of the place, in which there were four battalions, and all things necessary for making a long defence. The trenches were opened between the 9th and 10th in two places, in the presence of the Marshal de Villars, who did not stir till the workmen were covered. On the 13th, as he was giving directions in the trenches, a foldier was killed just before him. On the 16th he received advice that the allies had sent a great body of horse to attack his left wing on their general forage. He mounted immediately, and at the head of twenty squadrons advanced to their assistance; but finding the report false, he returned instantly to the siege, and made the same night all the necessary preparations for attacking the covered-way, which was performed the next day at noon in the presence of the Marshal d'Alegré and all the general officers. The besieged made a very gallant resistance; but, after the loss of a great number of men on both sides, the French made two lodgements on the covered-way. On the 18th those lodgements were perfected, the breach widened, and the ditch filled up, so that all things were now ready for a general assault. M. de Grovestein, to prevent this, beat the chamade, and demanded honourable conditions, but at last consented to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war.—The siege of Bouchain cost the French but ten days, though

though it was better fortified than when the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene took it after twenty-three days open trenches. The garrison were sent prisoners into France: M. de Grovestein had leave given him to go to Holland on his parole. The garrison of Bouchain completed forty-five battalions of the confederate troops at this time prisoners in France. Immediately after this siege both armies separated; Prince Eugene returned to the Hague, and M. Villars to Paris.

Since even before the commencement of the campaign, peace was in a manner concluded between France, Spain, and England, a suspension of arms took place in Catalonia, and on the side of Portugal, as far as it concerned the English nation. The Earl of Portmore disbanded the Portuguese regiments in English pay; and Vice-Admiral Jennings, according to the orders he had received, took on-board the English forces which had served in Spain, and for some time past had possessed themselves of Terragona, and left the necessary troops in Gibraltar and Port Mahon.

In Spain, all the emperor's hopes were placed on Marshal Staremberg.—The Duke de Vendome quitted Madrid on the 9th of April, and went to Valencia, where he reviewed the troops quartered thereabouts; from thence he went to Tortosa, in order to assemble the army; but going unfortunately to Vinaroz, which is near the Mediterranean, he ate there some bad fish, which threw him into his old distemper of an indigestion, of which he died on the 11th of June, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He was the son of Lewis Duke de Vendome, an ecclesiastic, who had arrived at the honour of the cardinalate, and of Laura Mancini, niece to the famous Cardinal de Mazarin. The duke, of whom we are speaking, made his first campaign in 1672; he commanded the French king's armies in 1695; in 1697 he took Barcelona, though he had not troops enough to invest it, and notwithstanding the Count de Velasco threw into it succours continually
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till the Duke de Vendome beat his army and drove him out of Catalonia. In 1702 he commanded the French army in Italy; in the years 1706 and 1707 he commanded in Flanders, and was the only French general who gained any reputation there. In the former year he hindered the allies from making any conquest, and in the latter he made a glorious retreat at Oudenarde, after the Duke of Burgundy had forced him to lose the battle. In 1710 he went into Spain; and, to sum up his character in few words, he always deserved victory, and almost always achieved it. The French owe all their reputation in Italy to him; to him Spain owed her safety, and the most Catholic king his crown. The King of Spain ordered his corpse to be interred in the monastery of the Escorial; for, as he revered him living, he was desirous of shewing the utmost regard to his memory after his death. But to return,

Immediately after the death of the Duke of Vendome, General Staremberg made an attempt upon Cervera; General Wetzel with four thousand men had the conduct of this business, which succeeded very happily at first, the scaling ladders being fixed without any interruption; but, when the troops began to mount it, it appeared that the governor was apprised of the scheme, for he immediately made such a discharge both of his artillery and small arms, as did terrible execution, and obliged the Germans to withdraw, leaving their ladders and two pieces of artillery behind them, this being the third time they had attempted that place. Count Staremberg soon after this disposed all things for taking the field: his army was not very numerous, but his troops were in excellent order, and all the regiments complete.

King Philip, on the other hand, appointed, on the death of the Duke de Vendome, Prince Tserclas de Tilly to command his army in Catalonia, and the Marquis de Valdecasias to command in Arragon, but with instructions

instructions not to hazard his troops or to enter too suddenly on action.

Marshal Staremborg perceiving, that with the Duke of Vendome the spirit of the Spanish army was in a manner deceased, began to act with greater vigour, disposing his troops in such a manner as to hold both Roses and Gironne blocked up, and at the same time pressed so hard on the advanced quarters of the Spanish troops, that they were obliged to abandon Cervera, and all that they possessed on the other side of the Segro, and to retire to Balaguer, in the beginning of the month of August. By the middle of the same month the marshal had drawn a great corps of troops into the neighbourhood of Balaguer, and caused Montefiara to be attacked. The garrison defended themselves with great resolution, but at length were made prisoners, and immediately shot; the reason of which being demanded by a trumpet from the Spanish army, the commanding officer answered, that it was in imitation of the Spaniards hanging the Miquelets, and that the one practice should continue just as long as the other. At last the Prince Tserclas de Tilly assembled the Spanish army, which consisted of fifty battalions and seventy-two squadrons, between the Xinca and the Segro, where he remained altogether on the defensive, without attempting any thing. Marshal Staremborg in the mean time sent parties to ravage the frontiers of Valencia and Arragon, and did a great deal of mischief, at the same time that his own quarters were secure by the shutting up of the garrisons of Gironne and Roses. Towards the latter end of the campaign the marshal made a brisk attempt upon the former, having first withdrawn the troops under General Wetzel, which formed the blockade, that the garrison might be in the greater security. The troops employed on this occasion were two thousand chosen grenadiers, who were furnished with petards and scaling ladders. They were landed at a small distance from

the town, and approached it without being perceived ; they even made themselves masters of a small guard posted before the barrier of Castillon, but not till after a vigorous resistance, which alarmed the governor and the garrison ; they then cut the barrier to pieces with their axes, and endeavoured to fix their petard to the gate of Castillon, while they scaled the walls on the other side, supposing that the garrison would of course be commanded to the gate on the bursting of the petard ; but in this they were mistaken, for, the moon shining very bright, the garrison perceived their motions distinctly, fired upon them so briskly, and attacked them between the pallisades and the wall so warmly, that after the loss of two hundred men they were obliged to retire, and leave their petards and scaling ladders behind them.

By this time the measures taken by his most Christian majesty began to operate so forcibly, that Count Staremburg, finding the Portuguese as well as English troops recalled, was constrained, in his turn, to abandon Cervera, and to retire towards Barcelona, of which the Prince Tserclas de Tilly having notice, and that a Palatine regiment of horse, which was reduced to a hundred and fifty men, was encamped at some distance from the army, he caused some squadrons to pass the Segro with such expedition, that they surrounded and made prisoners that regiment ; such were the events on this side. Let us now pass to the transactions in Catalonia towards the frontiers of France.

The Marshal Staremburg looked upon it as a thing out of doubt, that before the winter Gironne would fall into his hands, the rather because there was a good garrison therein, no less than twelve battalions, under the command of the Marquis de Brancas. All the roads leading thereto were not only secured with guards, but, where it was necessary, with retrenchments and artillery ; at last General Staremburg seized Pontamador on the river Ter, and ruined the mills which supplied

plied the town, General Wetzel lying near it with six thousand regular troops and eight thousand Miquelets well armed. Certain it is, that never were people in a more miserable condition than the garrison and inhabitants of Gironne, nor could the place have been preserved perhaps by any other officer in the world, than the officer who commanded there. He had before the blockade treated the people with the utmost humanity and kindness, suffering his soldiers to help them in repairing their houses, and sending the townsmen presents whenever his parties were so lucky as to take any thing from the enemy, so that when the blockade commenced the inhabitants brought out all their provisions, and consented to share them equally with the garrison, upon which the Marquis de Brancas delivered them arms, and put one of the gates into their hands, which action of confidence made them endure as severe a famine as ever people felt, with this mortifying circumstance, that hardly any relief could be hoped for. The governor with much ado conveyed a servant of his into France, charged with a letter to the Count de Fiennes, who commanded in Roussillon, wherein he acquainted him with the miserable condition of Gironne, and earnestly intreated him to attempt something before it was too late; that general immediately drew together eighteen battalions and a few squadrons, with which he entered the Lampourdan, having a small train of eight field-pieces; but, when he was advanced within half a league of Gironne, he found himself stopped short by a strong retrenchment, behind which General Wetzel lay encamped with ten thousand men. It was the 27th of October before the count could reach this place, and now he was advanced so far, he saw plainly that he must be obliged to return; however he said quite otherwise in his camp, declaring that he came with a resolution to relieve Gironne, and that he would force General Wetzel in his retrenchments; accordingly he disposed

every thing for that purpose, cannonading the German troops four days and nights successively. In the mean time he sent fifty fat bullocks and a hundred sheep, and four hundred foot to recruit the battalions, the whole escorted by three hundred horse; and this convoy had the good luck to ford the river, and get safe into Gironne, of which when the Count de Fiennes had advice, he retired quietly into his former quarters; this, though a very seasonable, was a very small supply, and could only have preserved the place some small time if other measures had not been taken. Marshal Staremburg in the interim attempted several times to surprize both the forts and the city, but the garrison behaved very bravely, so that they were constantly repulsed, and things remained much as they were when Marshal Berwick arrived at Perpignan. On the 9th of December he gave his orders with his usual quickness and secrecy, and, having sent a great quantity of all provisions by sea to Roses, he marched on the 26th from Perpignan with an army of about twenty thousand men. On his entering Catalonia he caused several thousands of manifestoes, printed in Spanish, to be distributed, forbidding all the subjects of the crown of Spain to supply, either with money or provisions, the Miquelets who were in arms against their lawful sovereign, under pain of death. He executed these ordinances as he marched along with great severity, causing also all the Miquelets that fell into his hands to be hanged immediately; which, with the remembrance of his severity in Arragon and Valencia, frightened the poor people so much that they abandoned all the advanced posts, and suffered him to advance quietly to Figuières. On the last day of the month he quitted the road to Gironne, marched close by the sea-side, and, passing the river Ter without opposition at Torella, he gave the Marshal Staremburg to apprehend that his communication with Barcelona would be cut off; he sent orders to his troops to abandon their retrenchments, and to march

march directly to Ostalic, to prevent its being invested by the Marshal Berwick ; that general, having nothing more in view than to relieve Gironne, sent the great convoy he had provided thither, which was received with prodigious joy. Thus ended this blockade, which had given the court of Spain a great deal of trouble. As soon as this was performed, Marshal Berwick sent out parties against the Miquelets, of whom great numbers were made prisoners ; but then he published a new manifesto containing the reasons of his former severity, and promising a general pardon to all who would lay down their arms, and live quietly for the future. This ordinance was published in the Castilian as well as Catalan tongue ; and the marshal, having provided each of his prisoners with a large packet of these manifestoes, set them all at liberty when they least expected mercy. He obliged all the villages in the neighbourhood to carry great quantities of provisions to Gironne ; he afterwards changed the garrison, and sent the Marquis de Brancas nine fresh battalions, and a large sum of money ; after which he returned to France, having rendered a most acceptable service, as well to the most Christian king as to his Catholic majesty.

The English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, insisted, as a preliminary step to peace, that Dunkirk should be put into possession of Queen Anne, which being agreed to, after some equivocation and delay on the part of France, Sir John Leake, who was now at the head of the admiralty, was ordered to convoy a body of troops thither, commanded by Lieutenant-general Hill, for that purpose ; which service being performed, on the 8th of July, 1712, the fleet returned into the Downs.

Sir Thomas Hardy commanded the squadron which was stationed in the soundings ; in which service he fell in with six French ships and a tartane. Five of these he took : namely, the Griffin, a king's ship, but in the service of the merchants, bound for Vera Cruz, and

and laden with bale-goods; the *St. Esprit*, of thirty-six guns, and one hundred and seventy-five men, also laden with bale-goods, and bound for Cadiz; she unfortunately blew up, and only the captain and about thirty-five of her men were saved; the *Adventure*, of Havre de Grace, carrying twelve guns and forty men, bound for Newfoundland; the master of this vessel produced the queen's pass, and was thereupon suffered to pursue his voyage; the *Incomparable*, of sixteen guns, bound for Martinico; and the *Ruby*, of twelve guns, bound for St. Domingo. The ship that escaped carried eight guns. Although these captures were made before any orders for a suspension of hostilities, yet so complaisant was administration to their new friends, the French, that after a long suit to obtain the condemnation of these vessels as legal prizes, the captors were obliged to accept of a sum of money far short of what they had a right to.

Vice-admiral Baker, in cruising off Cape St. Maries in the month of February, met with a large Spanish ship of sixty guns, which he ran ashore upon the coast of Portugal, the wind blowing too hard to venture out the boats, so that the inhabitants of the country, taking advantage of this situation, boarded and plundered her. She was freighted with sugar, cocoa, snuff, hides, and twenty thousand pieces of eight. The vice-admiral presented a memorial to the court of Portugal, setting forth his right to the effects which had been thus clandestinely purloined, and requesting that they might be delivered up; but the Portuguese ministry, who were never heartily in the interest of Great Britain, evaded this demand by urging that the goods were so effectually secreted, that it was out of the power of government to recover them. After this event, Baker cruised in the latitude of the Western Islands, for the fleet expected from the Brazils; being overtaken by a storm, he was obliged to return to Lisbon; but the Portuguese fleet arrived safely in the Tagus the day before the admiral returned thither.

Sir

Sir John Jennings joined the Dutch vice-admiral in the Mediterranean in May, having six thousand five hundred men on-board of transports, which were landed in Spain. By orders from Lord Bolingbroke, the admiral permitted a large French fleet of corn ships to pass by him unmolested, every one of which he had it in his power to take. Whilst the admiral continued in the Mediterranean, he escorted the empress with her retinue from Barcelona to Genoa, and conveyed thirty thousand men from Catalonia to Naples. He afterwards carried over the Duke and Duchess of Savoy, from Villa Franca to their new kingdom of Sicily.

Notwithstanding the fruitless issue of the expedition against Canada, yet the naval commander thereof, standing well with the ministry, was made choice of, to succeed Commodore Littleton in the West-Indies. On the 28th day of April, 1712, Sir Hovenden Walker sailed from St. Helen's, having a fleet of about one hundred merchant ships under his convoy. On the 24th of June he arrived at Antigua, where a violent animosity subsisted between the governor and the inhabitants, which the admiral left in the same condition as he found it. On the 6th of July, he arrived at Jamaica, and soon after had advice that the French had made a descent on Antigua. In order to retaliate the injury intended by the expedition against Canada, the French set on foot one against the Leeward Islands. M. Cassard sailed from Toulon with a strong squadron. He first attacked the island of St. Jago, which is the principal one of the cluster of islands called Cape de Verd. He plundered it of every thing that could be conveyed away, and then blew up the fort. He arrived at Martinico in July, 1712, where he collected three thousand men, and proceeded with them to Montserrat, and, having driven the inhabitants to inaccessible fortresses in the centre of the island, his troops ravaged the rest of the settlement for some days; but, hearing that some English ships were on their way to the relief
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of the place, he hastily re-embarked his troops and stood over to the continent, where he made a descent at Surinam, and obliged the inhabitants to purchase their safety at the expence of eight hundred thousand pieces of eight. All this while Sir Hovenden Walker remained inactive at Jamaica, where a dreadful hurricane, which happened on the 29th of August, not only desolated the island, but did considerable damage to the men of war that lay there. Soon after which, an order arrived from England for the admiral to return home, after having proclaimed a cessation of arms.

The depredations made by Cassard in the West-Indies, gave great offence to the English plenipotentiaries engaged at Utrecht in adjusting the terms of peace, and would have led a ministry, who felt properly for the honour of their country, immediately to have broken off all negotiation; but those who had now the guidance of the helm of state sought peace at any rate, with all the avidity of a prostrate power. The French in this instance, as in every other, were not at a loss to evade the charge. The court of Versailles denied having authorized Cassard to act in the manner he had done, and declared that his instructions were only general; that he had obeyed them, and that proper satisfaction should be given; which, however, was afterwards forgot.

Towards the close of the year 1712, the Duke d'Aumont arrived at London in character of ambassador from the court of Versailles.

On the 31st of March, 1713, the long-protracted conferences at Utrecht terminated in a treaty of peace and commerce, which was first signed by the ministers of the Queen of Great Britain and those of France; after these, the minister of the Duke of Savoy, and those of Portugal and Prussia, signed also. The States of the United Provinces were the last who signed, the French plenipotentiaries having insisted that the ministers of such princes as their master had acknowledged

ledged as sovereigns, should precede the ambassadors of a republic.

By this treaty it was stipulated, that Philip V. now acknowledged King of Spain, should renounce all right to the crown of France, the union of two such powerful kingdoms being thought dangerous to the liberties of Europe. It was agreed, that the Duke of Berry, Philip's brother, and after him in succession, should also renounce his right to the crown of Spain, in case he became king of France. It was stipulated, that the Duke of Savoy should possess the island of Sicily with the title of king; together with Fenestrelles, and places on the continent; which increase of dominion was in some measure made out of the spoils of the French monarchy. The Dutch had the barrier granted them which they so much desired; and, if the crown of France was deprived of some dominions to enrich the Duke of Savoy, on the other hand the house of Austria was taxed to supply the wants of the Hollanders, who were put in possession of the strongest towns in Flanders. The fortifications of Dunkirk were demolished. Spain gave up Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. France resigned her pretensions to Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; but was left in possession of Cape-Breton, and the liberty of drying fish upon the shore. Among the articles glorious to the British nation, their setting free the French Protestants confined in the prisons and galleys for their religion, was not the least meritorious. For the emperor it was stipulated, that he should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands. The King of Prussia was to have Upper Guelder; and a time was fixed for the emperor's acceding to these articles, as he had obstinately refused to assist at the negotiation, and declared himself resolved to continue the war.

The treaty of navigation and commerce, between Great-Britain and France, consisted of forty-one ar-

ticles, the eighth and ninth of which were the most important. By these the high duties levied in British ports, upon all goods and merchandize imported from France, were agreed to be taken off; and all the privileges respecting commerce were to be allowed to the subjects of the French king, which the most favoured foreign nation enjoyed. The general tariff made in France in the year 1664, was agreed should again take place.

This year was also remarkable for an attempt of the Scottish peers and commons to dissolve the union. During the debates on this subject, the Earl of Peterborough endeavoured to prove the impossibility of dissolving the treaty, which he compared to a marriage, that, being once contracted, could not be dissolved by any power on earth. He observed, that though England, who in the national marriage must be supposed to represent the husband, had in some instances been unkind to the lady, she ought not presently to sue for a divorce; and added, when the union was termed a mere political expedient, that it could not have been made more solemn, unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from heaven. The Duke of Argyle, who had originally promoted the union, now declared against it, and said that, unless it were dissolved, he did not long expect to have either property left in Scotland or liberty in England. By some other peers it was alleged, that the union had not produced its intended effect; that it had been designed to promote friendship between the two nations; but, so far from answering the purpose, the animosities between them were never so great as then; and, if they were separated again, they would be better friends. This motion was overruled in the house; but the discontent of the people still continued, and addresses were prepared throughout the kingdom, and matters were in danger of coming to the worst extremities, when the attempt of the
pretender

pretender in 1715 so divided the minds of the people, that no unanimous efforts could ever afterwards be made; though the union was long generally considered, and still is by some individuals, as a national grievance.

The French, who were very desirous of peace, flattered themselves for some time that his Imperial majesty, when he found himself left alone, would accept of the terms stipulated for him by his allies. In this however they were deceived; for the first of June, 1713, passed without the emperor's shewing any inclination to accept the offers made him. It would doubtless be a very difficult thing to give an exact detail of the reasons which induced his Imperial majesty to act in this manner. Those which have been generally received for such are these:—That he was persuaded another campaign might produce him some good, and could not possibly detriment him much; the evacuation of Catalonia and the neutrality stipulated for Italy enabled him to bring a considerable body of fresh troops to act upon the Rhine, where, if any lucky accident fell out in his favour, France must of course have bid higher for peace. In the mean time, either the King of France might have died, or the Queen of Great-Britain, both of whom were very infirm; in either case the emperor would have thought his affairs much mended; at the worst, Prince Eugene doubted not of making amends for any ill luck which might befall the Imperial arms, by concluding a peace at the close of the year with the Marshal d'Harcourt, who he supposed would have commanded the army on the Rhine. However it was, another campaign was resolved on, and the princes and states of the empire prepared for it in the usual manner, by providing a large stock of promises, and nothing more. The French on the other hand set on foot some private intrigues in Germany, which did not at all quicken the supplies. At last the remainder of a

million of crowns promised by the diet of Ratisbon was advanced, four millions more were directed to be paid into the military chest of the empire, and the city of Amsterdam advanced another million, for which the States bound themselves.

His most Christian majesty gave early instructions for providing every thing necessary for his troops upon the Rhine, and private instructions were sent to M. Voisin, secretary of war, to be very diligent in getting together whatever might be wanted for a siege. M. d'Harcourt excused himself from commanding on account of his health; and therefore Marshal Villars was named in his stead, and Marshal Bezons appointed to assist him; the latter went early to the army in order that it might be assembled in time, and that every thing might be ready for action when Villars arrived. That nothing however might be left untried for the bringing on a speedy peace, the Marshal de Bezons sent two companies of miners to Old Brisac, and as many to fort Kheil, with orders, as he pretended, to blow up the fortifications of those places; so that, if they were delivered up to the empire, they might be no longer of any use. This stratagem however did not take effect; another campaign was resolved on in Germany, and the French, whether they would or no, were obliged to take the field.

Prince Eugene resolved to have three armies upon the Rhine, one between Cologne and Coblenz, another between Coblenz and Mentz, the third in the lines of Etlingen. The troops posted in the neighbourhood of Mentz threw up a new line; the Imperial army which had served in Flanders returned into Germany; and Prince Eugene came to Mulberg to command them in person, with a design, as soon as things were ready, to pass the Rhine.

The Marshal de Villars arrived in the beginning of June in the French army. He easily penetrated the
prince's

prince's design of passing the Rhine at Philipsburg, upon which he dispatched orders to the Chevalier d'Asfeld to pass that river at fort Louis, with the body of troops he commanded, and to post himself before Sellingen. On the fourth of June the marshal gave orders to Count Broglio to march towards Philipsburgh, whilst himself set out for Fort Louis, where he joined d'Asfeld, and in the evening took the road of Rastadt; but he quickly returned post to Lauterbourg, whence he marched to support Broglio, who had marched with such expedition, that, when he was joined by the marshal next day, the whole French army appeared with its front towards Philipsburg, having Landau in its rear, whereby all succours were cut off from the latter, which was soon after invested by Marshal Bezons, Villars commanding in person the army of observation.

Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg, who commanded in Landau, had taken all necessary precautions for making a vigorous defence. He foresaw, that, if the war continued, France would undoubtedly besiege this place; he therefore added several new works. He had ammunition and provision in abundance, and a good garrison. The trenches were opened between the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth of June, and the siege was carried on with great vigour. Prince Eugene in the mean time sent courier after courier to the diet of Ratisbon, and made use of every expedient he could think of to quicken the princes and states of Germany: of a hundred and eighty thousand men, of which the army should have consisted, he had not above a third, and these he was forced to divide; so that it was impossible for him to undertake any thing against the besiegers.

The Prince of Wirtemberg, perceiving that there was no appearance of Prince Eugene's coming to his relief, as he had been promised, resolved not to let things come to extremity, and therefore beat the chamade

chamade on the 19th on July. Hostages being exchanged, it was proposed that the same terms should be given to the Prince of Wirtemberg as had been given by Marshal Tallard in the year 1703. Villars answered roundly, that he would hear of no other terms than surrendering prisoners of war. He said that Prince Eugene had been the author of this practice in the last campaign, and that he would do himself the honour to comply exactly with the rules set him by so great a general. Upon this the hostages were recalled, and hostilities recommenced. On the twentieth however the besieged hung out a white flag. The Prince of Wirtemberg came out of the place about ten in the morning, and signed the articles of capitulation about twelve, by which he and his garrison became prisoners of war, himself having leave to go to Prince Eugene in order to justify his conduct. The garrison consisted at the beginning of the siege of eight thousand five hundred men, of which there marched out but four thousand five hundred: it lasted fifty-six days open trenches. There were found in it sixty pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, a vast quantity of bombs and bullets, but very little powder, the magazine blowing up a few days before the place was surrendered.

Landau being lost, Prince Eugene applied himself with the utmost industry to prevent the enemy's making any new conquests; with this view he disposed several corps of troops in the neighbourhood of the places most exposed: he had particularly caused seventeen thousand men to take possession of an intrenched camp in the neighbourhood of Friburg, under command of General Vaubonne; but in spite of all this care he was deceived. Marshal Villars took such measures, that, while Prince Eugene was obliged to remain in the lines of Etlingen by the Marshal de Besons, himself, at the head of a great body of troops, joined a detachment commanded by
Count

Count du Bourg, and surprized General Vaubonne in his intrenchments: the business was quickly over; the Germans took the advantage of the night to save themselves, and the French, with the loss of fifty men, became masters of the intrenchments. The Germans had, it seems, a fort and new lines within three leagues of the place, whither they retired; but Villars following them with two thousand grenadiers, four thousand horse, and twenty-eight battalions, Vaubonne, finding his men would not do their duty, was obliged to retire to Rotweil, whither Prince Eugene sent him a reinforcement, and soon after joined him in person.

The way being now clear, M. Villars caused Fribourg to be invested, a place of great strength, and still greater importance. It is the capital of Upper Austria, seated on the banks of a little river called the Thresem, in the midst of a fertile plain at the foot of a mountain, where begins the chain of those which are called the Black Mountains, four leagues from Brisac. This place was thrice taken by the Swedes, twice by the Marshal de Horn, and the last time by the Duke de Weimar; afterwards it fell into the hands of the French, and was by them rendered one of the strongest places in Germany. By the treaty of Nimeguen it was given up to Louis XIV. in exchange for Philippsbourg; but by the treaty of Ryswick it was restored to the house of Austria. It had at that time four gates, and eight royal bastions with half-moons, which covered their curtains. It is commanded by a mountain; but then there are four forts thereon which entirely cover it, and command one another. The first of these is the castle, which commands the whole town; above it is the Eagle fort, which commands the castle; above that the Star fort; and on the top of the mountain the fort of St. Peter, which commands them all; with outworks on every side of the mountain, contrived after the best manner possible, and in perfect good order. The garrison consisted of fifteen battalions

lions and five hundred horse, commanded by the Baron de Arsch. Marshal Villars commanded this siege in person, and made all the dispositions for it himself. If Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg was censured for too feeble a defence, nothing of this sort could be imputed to the Baron de Arsch; from the moment the trenches were opened, he thundered on the besiegers, fatigued them with continual sallies, and, as Villars could not proceed by sap here, he lost a great number of men. He caused the city and the forts to be attacked at the same time: he went frequently into the trenches himself; and did all that man could do to encourage his troops. In the night between the twelfth and thirteenth of October, the Chevalier de Peseux attacked the covered-way of the fort of Escargot, at the head of two companies of grenadiers and fifty dragoons. As soon as they approached the fort, the Germans abandoned it in a hurry; but the French had scarcely taken possession of it before they were blown into the air, and a great number of them killed or wounded, the rest were driven from their post; and though the Chevalier de Peseux, at the head of a fresh body of troops, attacked it again, they were obliged to retire, though with much ado they made a lodgment on the glacis; about eight, de Peseux returned a third time to the charge, with the whole regiment of grenadiers and other fresh troops, but in vain: the Marquis de Laval had his jaw beat to pieces, his regiment destroyed, and at length returned with only four grenadiers, without being able to effect any thing. The fourteenth of October the Marshal de Villars spent in disposing all things for a grand attack in the evening: thirty companies of grenadiers were destined to the attack, and they were supported by all the troops in the trenches. At six in the evening Marshal Villars, with the princes of the blood, and a great train of general officers, entered the trenches; the signal being given, the grenadiers advanced. It so happened that the

Baron de Arsch, having no intelligence of this attack, had sent out six hundred men to make a sally; these six hundred were supported by another six hundred. As they marched in battalia, they were surpris'd to meet the French grenadiers; and the French grenadiers were as much surpris'd to meet them. The action was very brisk and bloody; but at last the besieged were forced to retire into the covered-way with loss. On the left the French gained ground but very hardly; the Germans made an obstinate resistance, and retired so slowly that the French and they mingled together, and began to stab and kill each other hand to hand. On the right, the Marquis de Vivans attacked the lunette with great intrepidity; but, after an action which lasted a long time, was obliged to retire. The grenadiers then attacked the covered-way, where the Germans not only made a prodigious resistance, and fired with great fury from the town, but the cannon in the lunette fired upon their backs; upon this the Marquis de Vivans, at the head of a battalion, advanced to support them, which not being able to do, Villars sent a hundred and fifty dragoons to his assistance. The Marquis de Coigny, Count Broglio, the Marquis de Nangis, and M. de Catillon, ran all through the midst of the fire to assist M. de Vivans; they advised him to attempt once more the lunette, which he did, the rather because there was no going back. The Baron de Arsch, who foresaw what would happen, resolv'd to sell that place as dear to the French as possible; with this view he caus'd three or four houses that were between it and the town to be set on fire, and, by the light they gave, fired with prodigious success on the French. They carried however the lunette, and put most of the men that were in it to the sword. Marshal Villars had taken all the necessary precautions: he had a fresh brigade at the end of the trenches, which they now entered, and immediately five hundred were detach'd to assist in making a lodg-

ment. The French lost on this occasion near three thousand men killed or wounded ; among whom were a hundred and fifty officers, and many of them of distinction. On the 16th, in the morning, the Baron de Arsch sent a compliment to Marshal de Villars, and desired a suspension of arms for four hours, that he might have time to bury his dead ; this the marshal readily granted, and immediately the French and German officers ran together on the covered-way, shook hands, embraced and complimented each other on the bravery shewn on both sides in the late action.—Prince Eugene was all this time at Rotweil, from whence he advanced to Holgraben, within three leagues of Fribourg ; but, finding that Marshal de Villars had raised impenetrable intrenchments to secure his camp, he was forced to retire. Mean time all things were provided for a general assault ; and Marshal Villars sent a message to the Baron de Arsch, importing, that, if he did not beat the chamade before the bridges were finished, he would allow his garrison no quarter, and receive even the townsmen upon no other terms than prisoners of war at discretion. The baron answered, “ That he did not doubt but his defence would merit the best treatment in the world from so consummate an officer as Marshal Villars.” The clergy and townsmen went in a body to solicit the governor to think better of this matter, but to no purpose. The marshal, having given the necessary directions for carrying on the siege, retired to Brisac, where he conferred with the deputies of the Elector Palatine ; and Prince Eugene, seeing he could be of no use to Fribourg, withdrew his troops within the lines of Etlingen.

On the 31st, Villars having received advice that all things were in readiness, resolved to make the grand attack. But, while the troops were advancing from the trenches, two white flags appeared upon the ramparts ; a few moments after one of the magistrates of the town brought him a letter from the Baron de Arsch, purporting

purporting that he was retired with his best troops into the forts, and that he had abandoned the town, recommending to his clemency two thousand wounded soldiers, a colonel, several officers, eight hundred men in the breaches, and a multitude of men, women, and children, which the Germans always have in their train. Villars, on entering the place, was surrounded by the magistrates and the inhabitants, who came to implore his clemency; he told them that he had the greatest sense of their misery, and that his soldiers should neither touch their persons nor their effects. Such of the neighbouring gentlemen as had taken refuge in Fribourg with their families he dismissed, taking an oath that they would do him no prejudice. In the magazines there was found a hundred thousand weight of powder, but not a grain of corn or provisions. Villars sent thereupon to acquaint the Baron de Arsch, that, if he imagined to distress him by leaving these poor people to eat him up, he was deceived. He was ready to do all that could be expected from him, which was to grant him an honourable capitulation; and that, if he deliberated upon this, he must send his people victuals, for he would shut them up entirely from his army. The inhabitants of the town however were not included in this harsh treatment. The Baron de Arsch was obliged to send bread every day to these poor creatures, which he did in so sparing a manner that they died by hundreds.—The governor demanded a suspension of arms, and leave to send to Prince Eugene, which was granted: the Baron de Wachtendonck was pitched on. On his return, he waited on the Marshal de Villars with a capitulation. The first article of which was, That the garrison of Landau should be released. The marshal would hear of no such thing. The baron told him, that the governor could now do nothing, for that Prince Eugene had sent positive orders to surrender on no other terms. He then demanded leave to go

himself to Prince Eugene, which was also granted him. On his return an honourable capitulation was signed, and the garrison marched out about seven thousand strong, having been at first thirteen thousand. There were found in the castle and forts a prodigious quantity of artillery, with ammunition and provision for six weeks. The reason which determined Prince Eugene to send his orders for rendering the forts were, that Marshal Villars had made all the necessary preparations for blowing up the fortifications of the town.

Villars, after these rapid successes, left the command of the army to Count du Bourg, and went post to Strasbourg; and soon after, the emperor being heartily tired, it was declared that conferences were to be held between M. de Villars and Prince Eugene, at the castle of Rastadt. On the 26th of November, M. Villars arrived at Rastadt about three in the afternoon, and took possession of that part of the castle which was assigned him; about an hour after, Prince Eugene arrived; Marshal Villars met him on the stair-case; they embraced each other with all the testimonies of friendship and esteem: they held conferences together every morning, dined with each other alternately, for sixty-three days, viz. to the 6th of February 1714. They then separated without concluding any thing in appearance; the Prince went to Stutgard and the Marshal to Strasbourg. All things being afterwards settled between the courts of Vienna and France, M. Villars wrote a letter to the prince to know when he would be at Rastadt; he fixed the 28th of February, on which day they both arrived. On the third of March the treaty was concluded, and all things being put in order by the sixth, it was then signed; and immediately thereupon orders were dispatched to the governors and commanders on both sides to prevent any hostilities. The treaty was ratified at Versailles on the 23d of March 1714, and at Vienna some time in the same month. The ratifications came in the beginning

ginning of April to Rastadt, where they were exchanged, the 6th of the same month. In May a congress was opened at Baden, for the final adjustment of all differences.—The French ministers arrived there first, those of the emperor next, both within the month of May: soon after came the ministers of the new king of Sicily, those of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the Dukes of Parma, Modena, and Guastalla; the pope's nuncio, and many others. The conferences were continued to the 5th of June, when, the treaty being concluded, there was nothing wanting but the arrival of the principal plenipotentiaries; and on their arrival there was a grand conference held in the hotel de ville, where the treaty being read aloud, it was approved and signed by the respective ministers of all the parties. By this treaty the King of France promised to render all the places belonging to the several princes of the empire within thirty days after the ratification of this treaty. The emperor promised to execute exactly the neutrality in Italy, and to do immediate justice to the Dukes of Guastalla and Mirandola, the Prince of Castiglione, and other Italian princes. While the treaty of Baden was negotiating, the peace between England and Spain was signed; and on the 26th of June, that between Spain and the States of Holland. The treaty between Spain and Portugal commenced at the same time; but, through the slowness of these nations, it was not concluded till the 14th of February, 1715. Thus we have conducted to its end, the war between the allies and the two crowns of France and Spain.

The treaty, however, did not put an end to the war in Spain; for the Catalonians still refused to submit to acknowledge Philip V. for their king.—They assembled in Barcelona in great multitudes; those who were most busy, taking upon them to act as chiefs, and even to form a sort of diet or states general under the title the Deputation of Catalonia, by whom it was resolved that

that they would never acknowledge King Philip. What the true source of this proceeding was is very difficult to discover, some affirming that the Catalans were chiefly influenced by the solemn promises which had been made them by the Queen of Great Britain and her ministers, others that they were privately encouraged by the emperor; the most probable account of the matter is, that such as had enriched themselves by the war were apprehensive of being reduced to miserable circumstances on their submission to the King of Spain; and that these encouraged the people with the hopes of becoming a free and independent state on the one hand, and terrified them on the other by ringing in their ears the loss of their privileges, and the danger they would run of being impoverished by great garrisons and heavy taxes, if once they owned for their prince him against whom they so long had fought, and whom they had treated with such disrespect and indignity. When the Germans had retired, (according to the terms of the treaty,) Barcelona was left in the hands of the before-mentioned deputation, who named the Marquis de Villareal commander of the army; the three brothers of the name of Nebot, and several other persons, general officers, and, by a most extraordinary act of their authority, declared war against France and Spain. On the evacuation of Terragona, General Raphael Nebot advanced with a great body of men to take possession of it; but the inhabitants, dreading the consequence of falling into such hands, shut their gates, and sent an express to the Marquis de Lede, who on the 13th of July garrisoned the place for Philip V.

The Catalonians being left to defend Barcelona and the other posts that were in their hands the best way they could, the deputation began to act not only with vigour, but with some degree of violence also, forbidding any family to retire from Barcelona, without their permission, under pain of death. They caused all tradesmen who were supposed to have money to be
taxed

taxed at certain sums; and, the ecclesiastics of their party having assured them that it was lawful for them to make free with church plate, since they had taken arms in the cause of religion as well as their country, they, without more ado, plundered all the chancels in Barcelona.

The Duke de Popoli, whom Philip had named viceroy of Catalonia, having disposed his troops in such a manner as to block up Barcelona, before he pretended to act offensively sent a trumpet with a letter to inform the inhabitants of that city, that, if by the 29th of July they did not open their gates to the forces of the most catholic king, they would lose the benefit of that general pardon which he had been pleased to grant, and would expose themselves and their posterity to many mischiefs, which he therefore intreated them to prevent, assuring them that his majesty would cause all those privileges which were not inconsistent with his royal authority, to be strictly observed. They returned an answer by the trumpet, signifying much surprise at the receipt of such a letter, declaring their resolution to defend themselves to the last, and assuring the Duke de Popoli, that he had nothing to trust to but force. On the 24th of October the Barcelonians received a great convoy from Majorca, the inhabitants of which island had, in imitation of them, set up for themselves; this convoy consisted of thirty barks laden with ammunition and provisions, and with two thousand soldiers on board. The next day they sallied and cut to pieces a great number of men in the Spanish entrenchments, during which action seven hundred oxen, three thousand sheep, and two hundred waggon-loads of wood, were carried into the town. On the seventh of November they made another sally with such success, that they carried off not only a great quantity of cattle, but fifty horses, and a hundred and fifty prisoners. The day following they received three barks and a vessel deeply laden, from Sardinia, with corn

and fish. The deputation, encouraged by so many successes, levied a new regiment of deserters, and the students formed another regiment of their own accord; they likewise brought in every day cattle, corn, fruit, and fish, from the villages adjoining.

It may be wondered that his most Catholic majesty, having now no other war upon his hands than this, should be able to make no greater efforts for the reduction of the last city in the hands of his enemies; but the causes of this will be easily shewn. The several provinces of Spain had been so exhausted by the mighty levies of troops, and the vast sums raised upon them, within the compass of a very few years, that they were in truth absolutely unable to furnish either recruits or fresh funds for the necessary expences of the current year; besides, a naval force was wanting to block up Barcelona by sea, which Spain was unable to furnish, and which his Catholic majesty was constrained to expect from the kindness of the most Christian king, who complied with the request of his grandson; and, though he had not been able to give him much support while he had other wars on his hands, now fitted out an armament for his assistance. He gave directions for equipping, with all possible diligence, a small squadron at Toulon, which was to carry ammunition and provisions to the Spanish army in Catalonia, and to assist in blocking up Barcelona by sea.

The Catalans had extraordinary good intelligence, they knew exactly the measures taken by the two crowns for reducing them, and they knew too the weakness of the King of Spain's finances, who, on account of this war, was constrained to levy a subsidy in Catalonia, the happiest thing for the malcontents that could be; they dispersed their emissaries throughout all the country, and these began every where to trumpet about that Catalonia would be treated as a conquered province, the people stripped of their privileges, burthened with taxes, and barred of all preferments.

ferments. From these premisses the negociators inferred, that the only course left for them to take was to desert to the King of Spain, and unanimously join the Deputation, which, with such assistance, they gave out would be able to drive both the French and Spaniards immediately out of Catalonia. These exhortations had their effect among a people prone above all things to pillage; and the rising which it produced was so sudden and so general, that most of the Spanish corps were surrounded and besieged in their quarters; so that, while they blockaded Barcelona, they themselves were blocked up by the Catalans.

The Duke of Berwick, who was sent by the most Christian king with his compliments of condolance on the death of the Queen of Spain, offered his service to his most Catholic majesty, which was very readily accepted. The fleet by this time began to draw together, which was intended to consist of fifty sail, but the storms and tempests which raged continually through the months of February and March hindered it from appearing so early on the coasts of Catalonia as it was designed. On the 8th of March the Duke de Popoli began to bombard Barcelona, which suffered exceedingly; but, by an order from the court of Madrid, the bombardment was interrupted, in hopes that the Catalans, on the conclusion of the peace of Rastadt, would throw themselves on the king's mercy; which they were so far from doing, that on the 8th of May it appeared a siege in form was absolutely necessary; and the Marshal de Berwick was named to command it. The army which formed this siege consisted of sixty-eight French battalions, thirty-nine Spanish and Walloon, 3,859 horse, and 3,869 dragoons. The Duke of Berwick, as the first step to the reduction of the place, resolved to make himself master of the fort of Capuchins, between the town and Montjouy. This was a monastery capable of holding about a hundred friars, which the Catalans had taken care to fortify

with much industry and dexterity. The trenches before it were opened in the night between the 14th and 15th of May, and on the 16th a breach was practicable, the place attacked and carried sword in hand, and all who defended it slain upon the spot. The taking this place gave the besiegers mighty advantages, as well against the fort as the town, both of which they bombarded with great fury. Most of the soldiers in the town, instead of running to extinguish the flames, took that opportunity to pillage; five hundred of the Catalans, having retired from Barcelona before the siege, possessed themselves of the town of Arenas. M. de Bracamonte soon afterwards invested the place; the inhabitants thereupon joined with the miquelets, and made a most obstinate resistance; at last, however, it was taken, sacked and pillaged, all the inhabitants being put to the sword, except women, children, and aged men. Yet still the Catalans had such an advantage over the Spanish troops, that they were at a loss how to carry on the siege till the arrival of all the French troops, when the Marshal de Berwick took on him the supreme command, and the Duke de Popoli returned to Madrid. The Catalans were exceedingly concerned at this news, for they dreaded the Duke de Berwick more than all the generals in France and Spain, because of the firmness of his temper, and his great knowledge in the art of war.

It would be tedious to enter into a minute detail of the siege of Barcelona: it is sufficient to say, that never was a defence more obstinate. The besieged, having planted an ensign in the breach with a death's head, made such prodigious efforts, that it was hardly possible to retain any posts after they were gained. On the 6th of September, Don Joseph Pilz appeared on the breach with a white flag, but the Marshal de Berwick would not hear of any terms, unless they would surrender at discretion, promising however to save their lives and their effects; to which Don Joseph answered,

answered, that he did not come to make any propositions, but to assure them that the townsmen of Barcelona were resolved rather to die than to yield. On the 11th of September the Marshal de Berwick gave orders for making a general assault. The attack on the right succeeded perfectly well. The attack on the left had success at last, but after a prodigious effusion of blood. It lasted from half an hour past four in the morning till eight o'clock the same morning, when the besieged made such a prodigious effort, that they drove the troops from all their posts, excepting those within the breaches; it was then that the corps de reserve, commanded by Berwick in person, marched, when a more obstinate engagement ensued than the former; the bastion of St. Peter was taken and retaken eleven times; at last, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the besiegers settled themselves in all the posts, and the besieged were forced to retire into the new city, where they immediately hung out white flags, which the Marshal de Berwick perceiving relented, permitted the deputies to be admitted to him, and granted a suspension of arms, which commenced at eight o'clock. The articles were settled by twelve at night, and were these:—That the inhabitants should surrender at discretion to King Philip V. their lawful sovereign. That the Marshal de Berwick should assure them of their lives and effects. That, in lieu of pillage, each battalion shall be allowed a certain sum of money according to the laws of war, where a town is taken by assault. That the town shall pay a certain sum of money to the officers and soldiers belonging to the artillery, to preserve the bells, which should otherwise belong to them. That the inhabitants of Barcelona shall this day put fort Montjouy into the hands of the besiegers. That they shall immediately surrender the town and castle of Cardona, the garrison of which is in their pay, who shall be safe as their lives and effects. That they shall dispose the Majorcans and all the

Catalans, who have taken arms at the solicitations of the deputation of Barcelona, to submit to the mercy of his most Catholic majesty. That the regular troops shall have leave to lift in the Spanish troops, or retire where they please.

Marshal Berwick would not suffer this capitulation to be put in writing for him to sign; but obliged the Catalans to depend upon his honour; the capitulation was however very strictly observed, notwithstanding the mighty effusion of blood on all sides.—In the fatal attack of the 11th, there were killed and wounded on both sides at least five thousand.—On the 13th the place was delivered up to the Marquis de Guerchy, who entered with fourteen French battalions besides Spanish horse; and the Duke of Berwick caused such exact discipline to be observed, that on the 14th the shops were all open, and the people were about their business with greater freedom and tranquillity than ever they had done during the siege; in which the French troops alone lost 5803 men; how many Spanish troops were killed is not known. As to the loss of the Catalans, we have no exact account thereof; we know only that five hundred and forty-three ecclesiastics were killed and wounded, from whence it may be inferred, that they suffered exceedingly in this warm service. This important conquest put an entire conclusion to the war in Spain, if we except the taking of Majorca, which happened not long after. The Duke of Berwick, as soon as a general tranquillity was restored, proceeded to punish the chiefs of the revolt, but not one with the loss of life; they were conducted to several prisons, there to remain for life, being permitted to take each of them a valet, and to be supplied by their families with whatever they might have occasion for; they did not in the whole exceed twenty-two, among whom the most remarkable were the Marquis de Villareal, general of the Catalans; the Marquis de Pinos, who was also wounded, and died in a short time
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afterwards; the Marquis del Poel, and the chevalier his brother. Father Torrents, a Dominican, who had assured the people that an army from heaven would come and raise the siege; and about sixty other persons were banished. Towards the latter end of the month of October, Marshal Berwick published a new decree, forbidding the Catalans on pain of death to injure the Castilians, and forbidding the Castilians and all other Spaniards on the like pain, to upbraid the Catalans with their rebellion. His most Catholic majesty rewarded the services of this gentleman with a pension of 100,000 livres per ann. He likewise sent him a sword enriched with diamonds of very great value. He gave the collar of the golden fleece to the Lord Lucan, with a company in his guard du corps.

The history of the latter part of Queen Anne's reign consists entirely of the intrigues of the whigs and tories against each other; which, as they are now of no importance, it is needless to take up time in relating, farther than that the tory influence continued to prevail. Whether the ministry at this time wished to alter the succession from the Hanoverian line, cannot now be clearly made out; but certain it is, that the whigs firmly believed it, and the tories but faintly denied the charge. The suspicions of the former became every day stronger, particularly when they saw a total removal of the whigs from all places of trust and confidence throughout the kingdom, and their employments bestowed on professed tories, supposed to be maintainers of an unbroken hereditary succession.

Whilst civil dissention was daily advancing to a dangerous height, the Princess Sophia died at Hanover, on the 28th of May, in the eighty-fourth year of her age. She was a princess eminently distinguished for natural and acquired endowments, and her engaging manners caused her to be much beloved. She was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederic elector Palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth daughter of

of King James I. of England. At her death the court of England appeared in mourning; and her son, the Elector of Brunswick, was prayed for by name, in the liturgy of the church of England. The great age of this princess would have rendered her very unfit to mount a throne; so that her death at this crisis, may be considered as giving her son a more ready access thereto.

The dissensions in the cabinet, occasioned by the disputes between Bolingbroke and Oxford, now rose to such a height, that each party threw off the restraints of decency, and descended to altercation and personal reflections. The lord-treasurer made no scruple to declare, that he could produce evidence of Bolingbroke being a determined jacobite; whilst the secretary on his part openly affirmed, that he had proofs in his possession, that Oxford was in the interest of the pretender. The public, who knew the dispositions of each of these statesmen, for once gave credit to the assertions of both.

These violent cabals and tumults made the queen's situation at length quite insupportable; her health had for some time declined; and on the 28th of July, 1714, she fell into a lethargic insensibility. Notwithstanding all the medicines the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that next day they despaired of her life. All the members of the privy council, without distinction, were now summoned from the different parts of the kingdom; and they began to provide for the security of the constitution. A letter was sent to the Elector of Hanover, informing him of the queen's desperate situation, and desiring him to repair to Holland, where he would be attended by a British Squadron to convey him to England. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the Earl of Strafford at the Hague, to desire the States General to be ready to perform the guaranty of the Protestant succession. Precautions were taken to
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secure the sea-ports ; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the Earl of Berkely, a professed whig. These measures, which were all dictated by that party, answered a double end : they urged the alacrity of the whigs in the cause of their new sovereign, and seemed to imply that the state was in danger from the disaffection of the opposite party.

On the 30th of July the queen seemed to be somewhat relieved by the medicines which had been given her. She rose from her bed about eight in the morning, and walked a little : after some time, casting her eyes on a clock that stood in her chamber, she continued to gaze at it for some minutes. One of the ladies in waiting asked her what she saw there more than usual ? to which the queen only answered by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. She was soon after seized with an apoplectic fit ; from which, however, she was somewhat recovered by the assistance of Dr. Mead. She continued all night in a state of stupor. She gave some signs of life betwixt twelve and one the next day ; but expired the following morning, a little after seven o'clock, having lived forty-nine years, and reigned upwards of twelve.

Thus died Anne Stuart, queen of Great Britain, and one of the best and greatest monarchs that ever filled that throne. In her person she was of the middle stature, and, before she bore children, well made. Her hair was dark, her complexion sanguine, her features strong, but not irregular ; her whole countenance was dignified and agreeable. In the accomplishments of the mind, as a woman, she was not deficient ; she understood music, loved painting, and had some taste for works of genius. What was most remarkable, was a clear harmonious voice, always admired in the graceful delivery of her speeches to parliament, insomuch that it used to be a common saying in the mouth of every one, " that her very speech was music." Good-nature, the true characteristic of the Stuarts, predominated

nated in her temper, which was a compound of benevolence, generosity, indolence, and timidity, but not without a due sensibility of any slight which she thought was offered to her person or her dignity ; to these all her actions, both as a monarch and as a woman, may be ascribed ; these were the sources both of her virtues and her failings. Her greatest blessing upon earth was that entire union of affections and inclinations between her and her royal consort, which made them a perfect pattern of conjugal love. She was a fond and tender mother, an easy indulgent mistress, and a most gracious sovereign ; but she had more than once reason to repent giving up her heart, and trusting her secrets without reserve, to her favourites. She was never expensive, but saved money out of her 50,000*l.* a-year, which, after she came to the crown, was paid to Prince George of Denmark, and was his by right. She retained to the last the true principles of that religion which she had early imbibed ; and was charitable without ostentation. She had a great reverence for clergymen eminent for learning and good lives, and was particularly beneficent to the poorer sort of them, of which she left an evidence which bears her name, and will perpetuate both that and her bounty to all succeeding generations.—Indeed the virtues of her heart were never called in question ; she was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity, a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent mistress, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful princess ; during whose reign no blood was shed for treason. She felt a mother's fondness for her people, by whom she was universally beloved with a warmth of affection which even the prejudice of party could not abate. In a word, she was certainly one of the best and most unblemished sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of England, and well deserved the expressive though simple epithet of “the good Queen Anne.”

We cannot here omit the character of Queen Anne,
as

as written by the Duchess of Marlborough, a lady who had such an opportunity of thoroughly knowing the queen, and who bore so great a part in many of the transactions of that glorious reign :

“ Queen Anne was very graceful and majestic in her person : religious without affectation ; she always meant well ; she had no false ambition, which appeared by her never complaining at King William’s being preferred to the crown before her, when it was taken from the king, her father, for following such counsels, and pursuing such measures, as rendered the revolution necessary. It was her greatest affliction to act against him, even for security. Her journey to Nottingham was never concerted, but occasioned by the great consternation she was under at the king’s sudden return from Salisbury. She always paid the greatest respect to King William and Queen Mary ; never insisted upon any one circumstance of grandeur more than what was established in her family by King Charles II. though, after the revolution, she was presumptive heir to the crown, and, after the death of her sister, was in the place of Prince of Wales. Upon her accession to the throne, the civil list was not increased. The late Earl of Godolphin, lord high-treasurer of England, has often said, that from accidents in the customs, and lenity in the collection, it did not arise, one year with another, to more than 500,000*l.* a-year. She had no vanity in her expences, nor bought any one jewel in the whole time of her reign. She paid out of her civil list many pensions granted in former reigns, which have since been thrown upon the public. When a war was necessary, to secure Europe against the power of France, she contributed in one year towards the war, out of her civil list, 100,000*l.* in ease of her subjects. She granted the revenues arising from the first-fruits, to augment the provisions of the poorer clergy. She never refused her private charity to proper objects. Till a few years before her

death, she never had but 20,000*l.* a-year for her privy-purse; at the latter end of her reign it did not exceed twenty-six thousand pounds a-year; which was much to her honour, because it is subject to no account: and, as to her robes, it will appear by the records in the exchequer, that in nine years she spent only 32,050*l.* including the coronation expence. She was extremely well-bred: treated her chief ladies and servants as if they had been her equals: her behaviour to all that approached her was decent and full of dignity, and shewed condescension, without art or meanness. All this I know to be true. SARAH MARLBOROUGH."

The above character is cut round the pedestal, on which stands a full-length figure of the queen, at Blenheim, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough.

There had been a new vault made on the south side and towards the east end of Henry VII's chapel, to deposit the body of Charles II. in which that prince, Queen Mary, King William III. and Prince George of Denmark, were laid. Here the remains of Queen Anne were likewise deposited; and, there being no more room left, the vault is closed with brick-work. She married his Royal Highness Prince George, brother to the then King of Denmark, July 28, 1683, by whom she had several children, who all died before her. In her ended the line of the Stuarts; "a family," say the authors of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "who never rewarded their friends, nor ever avenged them of their adversaries; a family whose misconduct and misfortunes are not to be paralleled in history."

Naval and Commercial Incidents during the Reign of Queen Anne.

ON the breaking out of the war, in the beginning of the queen's reign, 1702, the great demand for all kinds of naval stores, and particularly of pitch and tar, which were procured from the northern kingdoms,

doms, led the tar-company of Sweden to be very haughty in their demands for those articles, which had always been bought on disadvantageous terms to England, they being paid for in ready money; but now the Swedes refused to sell such commodities, unless England would permit them to be brought in Swedish ships, at their own price, and in such quantities only as that company should think fit. This conduct first suggested to parliament the method of allowing bounties for the raising of pitch and tar, hemp, flax, and ship-timber, in our North-American colonies; particularly in Carolina, (the southern parts of which lie near the latitude of Lower Egypt, and the northernmost nearly with Ancona and Bologna in Italy, at which places the best hemp and flax are produced.) For the particular benefit of the royal navy, the pre-emption or refusal of such naval stores, was, by the same act, allowed to the commissioners of the navy; but, if they neglected to purchase such articles within twenty days from the first landing them, then the proprietors were at full liberty to dispose of their merchandize as they should think fit. This act contained a prohibition from cutting or destroying any pitch, pine, or tar, trees, under the growth of twelve inches diameter, at three feet from the earth, on forfeiture of five pounds for each offence; and the penalty of ten pounds was thereby incurred, by the wilful setting on fire any woods or forests, in which any trees grew, that had been prepared for the making of pitch or tar, without first giving notice to the owners thereof, or to a magistrate. The beneficial consequences of this salutary law have been now happily experienced for upwards of ninety years.

About this time is fixed for the first cultivation of rice in South-Carolina, which, by opening a new branch of commerce, brought wealth to the colony, and in consequence to the mother country. This valuable grain is said to have been first introduced

there by accident, a small quantity of seed-rice being brought in a vessel which arrived from Madagascar. Before these important productions became articles of commerce, Carolina had very inconsiderable merchandize to transmit to England, in exchange for the necessaries which that colony constantly required from the mother country.

In the year 1703, John Methuen, Esq. our ambassador at the court of Lisbon, concluded, on the part of the Queen of Great-Britain, with Peter king of Portugal, an important treaty of commerce, to the mutual benefit of both kingdoms: by which his Portuguese majesty agreed, for himself and his successors, to admit into his kingdom the woollen cloths and the other woollen manufactures of Great-Britain, on condition, that the wines of the growth of Portugal were admitted into those kingdoms; so that at no time, whether there should be peace or war between the kingdoms of Great-Britain and France, any thing more shall be demanded for Portugal wines, as custom or duty, than one-third part of the custom or duty paid by wines imported from France. This beneficial convention, which was signed on the 27th day of December, 1703, has ever since remained inviolable, and thereby an uninterrupted friendship and alliance has subsisted between the two nations. By this treaty England gains a greater balance from Portugal than from any other country whatever; and the exports thither have continually increased.

It may not be improper to remark in this place, the quantity of gold and silver coin of all sorts, which, in consequence of the union, (1706,) was brought into the mint of Edinburgh, to be re-coined into the pieces and denominations of sterling money; the amount of which was 411,117l. 10s. 9d. as brought into the mint: neither is it improbable that as much more might have been hoarded up, by the whimsical, disaffected, and timorous, who were strongly
pre-

prepossessed against the union, and were far from believing it would long continue. The current coin of Scotland was also, at this time, exported to foreign parts, and no inconsiderable quantity melted by the silversmiths into various kinds of plate; so that a judicious author conjectures, that the gold and silver coin in Scotland might amount to nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.

In 1706, the parliament passed an act, by which a farther term of fourteen years and a half was granted to the East-India company, in consequence of its advancing one million two hundred thousand pounds for the public service, which sum was advanced without any additional interest; and the capital of the company, which before was limited to two millions, was now extended to three millions two hundred thousand pounds, the interest payable on which was settled at five per cent. and in order for a speedy and complete union between the old and new companies, in pursuance of the agreement entered into in the year 1702, the final determination of all matters of difference between them, and the completing of their union, was referred to the Earl of Godolphin, lord-treasurer: the whole to be completed, and the old company's charter to be surrendered, by Michaelmas 1708; after which the united company's style and title to be, as it still is, "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies." Much clamour was raised against this renewal of the exclusive privileges of trading to India, as had always happened upon a renewal. The legislature was called upon either to lay that trade entirely open, or to admit the ports of Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull, to a participation. It was contended to be unjust for London to engross the whole of so vast a commerce, while the Dutch East-India company included six of their towns in that commerce. In reply to which it was urged, that, as the
stock

stock was transferrable, any person in the three kingdoms was at liberty to become a purchaser.

An act of parliament was also passed, for securing the credit of the bank of England, by which it was enacted, that during the continuance of the governor and company of the bank of England, it shall not be lawful for any body-politic, erected, or to be erected, other than the bank of England, or for any persons whatsoever, united, or to be united, in covenants or partnerships, exceeding the number of six persons in England, (the bank of Scotland had been legally established in 1695,) to borrow, owe, or to take up, any sums of money on their bills or notes, payable on demand, or in less time than six months from the borrowing thereof. This restriction was principally meant to affect the Mine Adventurers' Company, who had established a bank.

In the beginning of the year 1709, a bill was ordered into the house of commons for a general naturalization of foreign protestants in England, in favour of which it was argued, that very great benefits would thereby accrue to Great Britain. It was observed, that the King of Prussia, by inviting the French refugees to settle in his dominions, had fertilized a barren and ill-peopled country; improved its trade and manufactures, and increased his own revenues. The bill was accordingly passed. By this act for naturalizing foreign protestants, all persons born out of the ligeance of his majesty who should take and subscribe the oaths, and the declaration appointed the preceding year, should be deemed, adjudged, and taken, to be her majesty's natural-born subjects, provided they should have received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in some protestant or reformed congregation, within the kingdom of Great Britain, within three months of their taking the said oaths. The children of all natural-born subjects, though born out of the ligeance of her majesty, should be

be deemed and adjudged to be natural-born subjects of Great Britain to all intents, constructions, and purposes, whatsoever. And the like naturalization of foreign protestants was extended to Ireland. Soon after the passing this law, near seven thousand of the poor Palatines and Suabians, dwelling on the banks of the Rhine, in Germany, who had been utterly ruined and driven from their habitations by the French, were, in compassion to their misery, brought over to England, and were soon after followed by more of their countrymen. Had they been immediately sent over to some one or more of our continental colonies in America, they would have caused a great accession of strength in those parts; but no settled plan was concerted for their establishment any where. In order to provide for their present support, a brief was granted throughout Great Britain for a collection for them. Some of them were taken into private families, five hundred families of them were sent into Ireland, where twenty-four thousand pounds was granted for their support. At length three thousand of them were conveyed to New-York, and settled upon Hudson's river. Many who were dissatisfied with that settlement removed to Pennsylvania, where they were kindly received by the quakers. This friendly reception proved afterwards the means of drawing many thousands of German and Swiss protestants thither, whereby that province has since become one of the most populous and flourishing in North-America.

The former parliament had taken into consideration the proceedings of the Mine-adventurers' Company, in consequence of a petition preferred by the proprietors and creditors. In the year 1704, Queen Anne had granted a charter of incorporation to several noblemen, gentlemen, and eminent citizens of London, for the working and managing of mines and minerals, and smelting, refining, and manufacturing, the same. Of this company the Duke of Leeds was chosen governor,
and

and Sir Humphry Mackworth deputy governor, for life; to the latter of whom the conduct of the undertaking was entirely entrusted. After the scheme had been conducted for a few years with the most ostentatious parade of success, whilst profusion and mismanagement secretly involved the undertaking in immense debts, the company were obliged to stop payment of their sealed bills and cash notes. It appeared to the committee of the house of commons appointed to enquire into the causes of this failure, that the company had lost eighty-eight thousand pounds by banking, and that other large sums had been squandered away upon ruinous projects which Sir Humphry had started. The house hereupon unanimously passed a vote of censure on the deputy-governor, and others concerned with him in these mal-practices, and ordered in a bill to prevent their leaving the kingdom, or alienating their estates. But, when the proceedings against these delinquents ought to have been resumed by the new parliament, Sir Humphry being a warm retainer to high-church and toryism, his misconduct was overlooked, and the proceedings against him were dropped.

In consequence of an act passed, for the better securing her majesty's docks, ships of war, and stores, commissioners were appointed to treat for the purchase of such lands as should be judged proper for the better fortifying of Portsmouth, Chatham, and Harwich; and proper juries were to be summoned, to ascertain the just value of such lands as should be wanted. This plan has been since farther extended to Plymouth and Milford-Haven; and greater quantities of ground have been purchased, for extending and improving the fortifications of Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth; the fortifications of which, however, are still thought to be capable of essential improvement.

The foundation of the present wealth and consequence of the town of Liverpool was laid about this time,

time, by an act of parliament, which enabled the corporation to place proper land-marks, buoys, and other directions, in the port, for the safety of shipping, and to construct a convenient wet dock, or basin, therein; to effect which, a duty was laid on the tonnage of all ships trading to and from that port, which was to continue for twenty-one years. This impost has been found fully to answer the ends proposed thereby; every thing conducive to the safety and accommodation of shipping having been completed, to the great emolument of that flourishing town.

The most memorable commercial transaction, during the Earl of Oxford's administration, was the establishment of the South-Sea Company. When the Earl of Godolphin quitted the treasury-board, a large debt remained unfunded, which had been created by deficiencies in supplies, and the application of subsidies to other services than those for which they were originally designed. When the new ministry took the lead, the holders of these debts were formed into a company. The debts unprovided for being liquidated at 9,471,321*l.* on which an annuity, at the rate of six per cent. was granted, by an act of parliament passed in the ninth year of Queen Anne's reign, until the principal was paid, which amounted to five hundred and sixty-eight thousand two hundred and seventy-nine pounds. The company were incorporated for carrying on a trade to the South-Seas; and by their charter, there was vested in them and their successors the sole trade into and from all the kingdoms and lands on the east side of America, from the river Oroonoko to the southermost part of Terra del Fuego; and on the west side thereof, from the said southermost part of Terra del Fuego, through the South-Sea, to the northermost part of America; and into and from all the countries, islands, and places, within the said limits, which are reputed

to belong to Spain, or which shall hereafter be discovered within the limits aforesaid, not exceeding three hundred leagues from the continent of America, on the west side, except the kingdom of Brazil, and such other places on the east side of America, as are now in the possession of the King of Portugal, and the country of Surinam, in the possession of the States-general; and, to give the thing the greater sanction, the said company, and none else, were to trade within the said limits; and if any other person shall trade to the South-Seas, they shall forfeit the ship and goods, and double value: one fourth part to the crown; another fourth part to the prosecutor; and the other two fourths to the use of the company. And the company shall be the sole owners of the islands, forts, &c. which they shall discover within the said limits, to be held of the crown, under the annual rent of an ounce of gold, and of all ships taken as prize by the ships of the said company; and the company may seize, by force of arms, all other British ships trading in those seas. The stock of this corporation was to arise from the subscription of these public debts, and the sum of eight thousand two hundred and seventy-nine pounds was granted for the charges of management. The governor and directors of the new company had power, by their charter, to make any call, not exceeding ten per cent. for the prosecution of this trade.

A contract then subsisted between Philip of Spain and the Guinea Company of France, commonly called the *Asiento* Treaty, by which the Spanish settlements in South-America were supplied with negroes: the term of years for which this agreement was made, expired in 1713, and, when a general peace was negotiating, the court of Madrid agreed to make their *asiento* treaty with Great Britain instead of France, who had really sustained great losses by executing

cuting the contract, although the English were buoyed up with the hope of making imment gains thereby. This assiento contract stipulates, in the first place, that, from the 1st of May, 1713, to the 1st of May, 1743, the company shall transport into the Spanish West-Indies, one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes of both sexes, and of all ages, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred negroes every year; that for each negroe the assientists shall pay thirty-three one-third pieces of eight, in full, for all royal duties; that the said assientists shall advance his Catholic majesty two hundred thousand pieces of eight, upon the terms prescribed in the contract; that twice a-year they shall pay the before-mentioned duties of four thousand negroes, his Catholic majesty giving them the duty on the other eight hundred, to balance their risk, and extraordinary expences; that his Catholic majesty and the Queen of Great Britain shall each be concerned a quarter-part in the said trade, and shall be allowed a quarter of the profits, which shall be accounted for, by the assientists, upon oath. That, during this space, neither the French Guinea Company, nor the subjects of any crown, shall have any licence to import negroes; and, in case they should import them, they shall be considered as contraband, and the company shall have power to confiscate them; with many other clauses for the security of this trade. The King of Spain also licensed two ships of six hundred tons each, for carrying merchandize the first year to the northern ports of the Spanish West-Indies, besides an annual ship of five hundred tons: but no ship sailed during this reign.

By an act of parliament passed in the ninth year of Anne, cap. 10. the former laws for establishing post-offices in both kingdoms of England and Scotland were repealed, and one general post-office, as well as one general post-master, thereby appointed for the united kingdom; and also a chief letter-office

was erected at Edinburgh, Dublin, New-York, and the West-Indies. By the same act the rate of postage was augmented: what before paid twopence, was now advanced to threepence; and for double letters sixpence. The penny post office established within London, Westminster, Southwark, and parts adjacent, is first mentioned in this statute.

As the progressive wealth and improvement of the nation may be safely inferred from the increase of this branch of the revenue, it may be thought curious to remark, that when a general post-office was first established in England, in the year 1660, it then brought in a revenue of twenty-one thousand pounds a year, which is supposed to have been the amount, after contingent expences were defrayed. In the course of fifty-one years, we find the net revenue to amount to fifty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-four pounds; and seven years after that, (in the year 1718,) by a printed report to the house of commons, the medium then was sixty-two thousand pounds for England, and two thousand pounds for Scotland; a surprising increase.

By a report made in the house of commons in 1709, the revenue of the customs of Great Britain, at that time, appears to have been as follows:

The gross amount of the customs - - £ 2,319,320

Deduct	l.	s.	d.
Salaries and incidents	152,184	12	1
Drawbacks on foreign goods	717,190	17	2
Bounty for corn exported	36,027	1	4
Allowances for damages, &c.	57,075	15	0
Portage paid to masters of ships	3,358	19	6

965,837

Net produce in 1709 - - - £ 1,353,483

The

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The net amount of the customs of England, from the year 1700 to 1714, both inclusive, appears to have been as follows :

1700	—	£ 1,379,460
1701	—	1,637,809
1702	—	1,285,605
1703	—	1,206,349
1704	—	1,401,390
1705	—	1,139,277
1706	—	1,311,856
1707	—	1,192,081
1708	—	1,351,536
1709	—	1,353,483
1710	—	1,208,292
1711	—	1,253,598
1712	—	1,315,423
1713	—	1,541,170
1714	—	1,714,139

£ 20,291,468

Average of the produce for one year £ 1,352,764

The importation of tobacco from America into England, at a medium of ten years, ending in 1708, is given by Dr. d'Avenant, at - } 28,858,666 lbs.

Exported on a like medium - - 17,598,007

11,260,659 lbs.

In a representation made by the East-India Company to the house of commons, in the tenth year of Queen Anne's reign, against the laying additional duties on such commodities as that company imported from the east; it was asserted, that the company annually shipped for their settlements, about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds value in woollen goods, and other English product.

The balance accruing to England from her foreign trade, during the war, or the merchandize exported to

to foreign parts, exceeded the imports by two million three hundred eighty nine thousand eight hundred and seventy two pounds: which sum England may be supposed to have gained every year by her foreign commerce.

In November 1711, the prices of the public stocks were as follow:—East-India stock, $124\frac{1}{2}$. Bank stock, $111\frac{1}{4}$. South-Sea stock, $77\frac{1}{2}$. Royal African stock, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

By an act passed in the 12th year of Queen Anne's reign, cap. 16. the legal rate of interest was reduced from six to five per cent. in which act the word *usury* is made use of to express the legal interest of money lent, according to its ancient signification, although that term is now commonly applied to illegal or exorbitant interest only.

Another act of parliament, passed the same session, provides a public reward for such person or persons as shall discover the longitude at sea. This bill was brought into the house at the joint petition of Mr. Whiston and Mr. Dutton, founded on the opinions of Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Halley. By this act, the board of admiralty, the speaker of the house of commons, and other great officers, by virtue of their offices, and other persons therein named, are constituted commissioners for trying and judging of all proposals, experiments, and improvements, relating to the longitude; and any five of them are empowered to act. These, being satisfied of the probability of the discovery, are directed to certify their opinion to the commissioners of the navy, who are empowered to make out a bill for any sum, not exceeding two thousand pounds, as the commissioners of the longitude shall think necessary for making the experiments; who shall report how far they have succeeded. The ultimate reward for the discoverer of the longitude if he determines it to one degree, or sixty geographical miles, is fixed by this statute at ten thousand

thousand pounds; if two-thirds of a degree, fifteen thousand pounds, and if half a degree twenty thousand pounds.

About this time, (1714,) the emperor Charles VI. first granted commissions to ships fitted out at Ostend, for trading to East-India, whereby great quantities of East-India goods were brought to Europe, which very much interfered with the English and Dutch Companies. Most of these interloping ships, as well as their commanders and secret projectors, were nevertheless procured from England and Holland. Some ships under the emperor's commission were fitted out at Lisbon and Leghorn. Loud complaints were carried to the court of Vienna by the English and Dutch, but no redress could at that time be obtained.

In the year 1712, the French king granted a patent to his secretary, the Sieur Anthony Crozat, for fifteen years, of the whole commerce of all the king's lands in North-America, lying between New France on the north, Carolina on the east, and New Mexico on the west, down to the gulph of Florida, by the name of Louisiana. In the preamble to this patent, the French king says, that, having in the year 1683 given orders to the Sieur de la Salle to make discovery of the country above described, he succeeded so well as to leave it beyond a doubt, that a communication might be opened between the bay of Mexico and New France, by means of certain vast rivers. The first settlement which the French had made in those parts, as it was only at the mouth of the river Mississippi, was an encroachment upon Spain alone, it being within the limits of Florida; but by the grant to Crozat, Louis declared without disguise his design of joining Louisiana to New France, or Canada, and thereby hemming in the English colonies, situated between the river Mississippi and the sea eastward: and such was the supineness or incapacity of the English ministry,

bat

that they made no opposition to a grant, by which the foundation was laid for establishing the power of France on the ruin of that of England in America.

“Crozat,” says the Abbé Raynal, “was one of those men born for great enterprizes. He possessed a superiority of talents and sentiments which enabled him to undertake the greatest actions, and condescend to the least, for the service of the state; and wished to derive all his fame from the glory of his country. The soil of Louisiana was not the object of this active genius. He could not be ignorant of its barrenness, nor did it ever appear that he had any idea of attempting to improve it. His intention was to open communications both by land and sea with Old and New Mexico, to pour in all kinds of merchandise into those parts, and to draw from thence a great quantity of piastres. The place he had asked for, appeared to him to be the natural and necessary mart for his vast operations; and all the steps taken by his agents were regulated upon this noble plan. But, being undeceived by several fruitless attempts, he relinquished his scheme, and in 1717, resigned his privilege to a company whose success astonished the world.”

In the course of this reign, the city of St. Peterburgh was erected, under the direction of the Czar of Muscovy, Peter the Great. That extraordinary man, having conquered from Sweden the fine provinces of Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia, formed a design of opening a free and new communication between Russia and the Baltic Sea; he therefore laid the design of erecting a new metropolis and emporium at the mouth of the river Neva, from whence he might more commodiously awe his enemies of the north, and open a communication with the rest of Europe by means of the Baltic, by a much shorter and safer course than from Archangel. He therefore brought thither a vast number of labourers

bourers and artificers from all parts of his vast empire; many thousands of whom are said to have perished through cold, hunger, and distempers, in that swampy spot; notwithstanding which, in the course of ten years, he surmounted all obstacles, and having, through his despotic sway, obliged his nobility, merchants, artizans, and others, to erect and inhabit houses in this new city, and alluring thither many sea-faring people from Livonia and other parts, by a prospect of advantage, he gave it the name of St. Petersburg, which very soon became a large and populous city. By the erection of this new mart of trade, the port of Archangel in the White Sea, to which upwards of one hundred ships from England, Holland, France, and Hamburgh, used annually to resort, has greatly declined in its commerce.

Abstract of the ROYAL NAVY, as it stood at the Death of the QUEEN.

Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Mén.
First	— 7 —	714	— 5312
Second	— 13 —	1170	— 7194
Third	— 39 —	2890	— 16089
Fourth	— 66 —	3490	— 16058
Fifth	— 32 —	1190	— 4160
Sixth	— 25 —	500	— 1047
Total	182	9954	49.860

Fire-ships, &c. about 50.

The national debt, at the time of the queen's demise, amounted to about fifty millions.

Of the Progress of Military Tactics, from the Reign of Elizabeth, to the final Improvement of the modern Army.

At the close of the long and glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, in vol. ii. p. 296, we have given a statement of the ancient weapons of war, of the then mode of attack and defence, and of the general arrangement and conducting of the army. It will, in this place, be proper to follow up that account, in order to trace the variety and progress of fire-arms; the wonderful turn that their invention gave to the politics of Europe; the consequent effective operations of an army; and the vast improvement of military affairs.

The invention of gunpowder brought about the new-modelling of the army, and was the introduction to all the various implements of modern artillery; as cannon, mortars, howitzers, peteraros, matchlocks, firelocks, petards, partridges, bombs, carcasses, grenades, infernals, &c. &c. Bombs appear to be among the most early of these inventions. Strada says, they were used in the year 1588, at the siege of Vakterdonc, a town in Guelders; but from his description it appears, that what he calls a bomb, was, in reality, a carcass. Nothing, says he, frightened the burghers more than certain hollow balls filled with powder and materials that could not be extinguished; these balls were thrown into the air by mortars, and had a match of a certain length, in order to set fire to the powder. Falling on the tops of houses, they broke through them, and, as soon as they had taken fire, they burst, and spread out, on every side, a flame which was difficult to extinguish with water. This instrument, which gave origin to grenades, fire-pots, and the like machines, was invented, it is said, a few days before the siege of Vakterdonc, by an inhabitant of Venlo, a maker of fire-works.

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The inhabitants of that town proposed, with this invention, to divert the Duke of Cleves, who was on a visit to them, and to whom they had given a grand repast; they, therefore, were desirous of making the first trial of it before him, and it succeeded much beyond their expectation; for the bomb, falling on a house, beat in the roof and floors, and set it on fire, which, communicating with the neighbouring houses, burnt two-thirds of the town, the fire being so violent that it was impossible to extinguish it. I know, adds Strada, that some have written, that a month or two before, a like experiment had been made at Bergen-op-Zoom, by an Italian deserter from the Spanish troops, who had engaged with the Dutch, and had promised to make them some hollow balls of stone, or iron, which, being thrown into a besieged town, and bursting after their fall, would set every thing on fire; but, as he was preparing his composition, a spark having fallen on the powder, he was blown up, and by his death left his employers in an uncertainty, whether or not his secret would succeed. From both these descriptions, it is evident the end proposed was, to burn the towns by means of these fire balls. The effect of the bomb is chiefly confined to beating down buildings by its fall, or, by its explosion, and the pieces of broken iron thrown about in all directions, to break and destroy every thing around it. Valturinus, who is the oldest of the modern writers on war, the first edition of whose book was published, in Latin, at Basle, in 1472, carries the invention of bombs at least a century farther back than Strada; for, in book x. p. 267, of his work, there is the figure of a cannon, of the howitzer kind, destined to throw a brazen ball, filled with combustibles, or powder. Bombs, since their first invention, have been much improved, and they are now made of cast-iron, thickest at the part opposite the vent; by which means, that side being heaviest,

they fall with the fuse uppermost, and thereby prevent its being broken or smothered: though some engineers think, that when cast equal they fly truer, and burst into more pieces. Blondel points out an extraordinary method of throwing stones into a besieged town without making use of a mortar. "The Poles, (says he) assisted by some auxiliary troops, besieged the town of Thorne, in Prussia, held by the Swedes, into which they frequently threw stones of a monstrous size, great quarters of mill-stones, and squared stones of more than 800lbs. weight, without making use of mortars, but by the following easy method: In the firm ground, near the counterscarp, they digged holes just of the size and figure of the stone they intended to throw, the bottom of which hole being flat and even was turned towards the town, with such an angle of inclination as they judged, by estimation, was proper for the direction of their throw; and, in the middle of this bottom, they digged another hole deeper, and in form of a chamber, and in such sort, that the axis of the last hole passing through the centre of gravity of the stone, was perpendicular to its bed, and was the same as the line of direction; they filled this hole with gunpowder, if the earth was sufficiently firm, or else they put in a petard, of a size proportioned to the weight of the stone, which resting upon the plane of the madrier of the petard, or of the top of the chamber, received the full force of the powder, which was lighted by means of a thread dipped in brandy, and composition of artificial fire-works, and, rising to a great height in the air, fell in the town at the destined place, where it crushed every thing it met with in its fall."

After the invention of bombs, those of carcases of different kinds, and grenades, naturally followed: the latter are said to have been first used in 1594. Of this kind is the curious invention called partridges; these were thrown from a mortar so constructed, that
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its central bore would contain a bomb or carcass of very large calibre; and being surrounded with a number of small bores, of a size capable of containing a hand-grenade in each, the whole were fired at once, and flew together like a covey of partridges; and hence the name. The howitzer, which is a kind of mortar mounted like a gun on a field-carriage, its trunnions being fixed in the middle, is, on particular occasions, extremely serviceable; they were invented by the Germans about the year 1594, and were sometimes used to throw red-hot Balls.

The petard was a contrivance made use of to burst open gates, draw-bridges, and doors of arsenals, fortresses, and castles, attacked by surprise. It is a kind of iron mortar, of the form of a truncated cone, or of a bell, with a touch-hole in the centre of the breech, and four handles for fastening it to its madrier. Petards were of different sizes, according to the uses for which they were designed; a small one, sixteen lines thick at the breech, and eight or nine at the mouth, its calibre five inches at the breech, and eight at the mouth, and its length from ten inches to a foot long, weighed about sixty pounds, and was the best size for general use. The manner of loading it was this: it was filled nearly full with the best gunpowder, and then covered with wadding, and afterwards, by a wooden trencher, exactly fixed to its calibre; after this, it was to be driven with seven or eight strokes of a wooden mallet, care being taken not to break the grains of the powder; and the remainder of the petard was filled with yellow wax, or Greek pitch, the whole covered over with a waxed cloth; the mouth of it was then placed in a cavity turned to receive it, in a strong plank, about eighteen inches square, called a madrier, strengthened on the opposite side with a cross band of iron, and a strong iron hook; to this madrier the petard was fastened by staples passing through the handles before-mentioned.

When

When it was to be used, the madrier was made fast by its hook, and, by other contrivances, to the gate intended to be blown open; and fire being set to the fuse, which passed through its vent or touchhole into the centre of the powder, the effect was generally a fracture in the gate almost equal to the size of the madrier. The petard, according to Father Daniel, was invented in France, A. D. 1579, in which year it was used by Henry IV. of France, then only king of Navarre. In December 1641, Arundel castle was taken by the parliamentary forces under Sir William Waller, and Colonel Browne, who coming unexpectedly, and finding the castle gate shut, they blew it open with a petard.

The infernals were a kind of floating mines, adapted to the sea-service, constructed in the hulks of ships or boats. The first inventor of them, or, at least, the first who put them in practice, was Frederic Jambelli, an Italian engineer, at the siege of Antwerp by the Spaniards, under Alexander prince of Parma, in 1585; a very particular and interesting relation of their destructive effect is given by Strada, in his history of the Belgic war. The devastation made by these caused several others to be tried, but none of them succeeded so well. At Dunkirk and St. Maloes they were tried by the English; at Havre-de-Grace by the English and Dutch, under King William; and one was constructed by the French, to be sent against Algiers, in 1688. They were filled with combustibles, and armed with points, whereby they would, if they fell on wood or any soft substance, stick fast to it. The vessel was thirty-four feet in length, eighteen in height, and drew nine feet water; the upper deck was covered with old iron cannon and langridge; and when exploded, they broke a great number of windows, unroofed many houses, and produced a very unusual scene of devastation.

Although

Although cannon and modern artillery seem to have been used as early as the time of Edward III. yet none of our workmen ever attempted to cast them till the reign of Henry VIII. when, in 1521 according to Stowe, or 1535 as Camden says, great brass ordnance, as cannon and culverins, were first cast in England, by one John Owen. Whether this man did not succeed, or died before the year 1543, is not mentioned; but, in that year, according to Stowe, the king employed two aliens as his gun-founders; his words are, "the king, minding wars with France, made great preparations and provision, as well of munitions and artillery, as also of brass ordnance; amongst which, at that time, one Peter Bawd, a Frenchman born, a gun-founder, or maker of great ordnance, and one other alien called Peter Van Collen, a gunsmith, both the king's freedmen, conferred together, devised, and caused to be made, certain mortar-pieces, being, at the mouth, from eleven inches unto nineteen inches wide." The Duke of Burgundy also appears to have had some very large ordnance in his army; our countryman Coriat describes one that he saw in the arsenal at Zurich: "among them I saw one passing great murdering-piece; both ends thereof were so exceeding wide, that a very corpulent man might easily enter the same; this also was wonne in the field from the said duke:" vol. ii. p. 193. He likewise mentions another large piece, termed a basilisk, which he saw in the arsenal of Milan: "also (says he) I saw an exceeding huge basiliske, which was so great, that it would easily containe the body of a very corpulent man." About this time, chambered pieces for throwing stones, called cannon-perriers, port-pieces, stock-fowlers, sling-pieces, portingale-bases, and murtherers, were much used in forts, and on ship-board. About this time, the army also used gun-carts, for carrying two peteraros, or chambered pieces. Several of these carts were represented

sented in a valuable picture of the siege of Boulogne, which was burnt in the unfortunate fire at Cowdry-house, in 1793. These carts seem to have been an invention of the Scots; and Henry, in his History of England, mentions them as peculiar to that nation.

The introduction of fire-arms has certainly been the means of making soldiers gentlemen, and of introducing that alertness, neatness, and celerity, with which modern operations in war are conducted. The great good order and high decorum which prevails in the navy, and the astonishing improvements in naval tactics, were also brought about in consequence of the invention of gun-powder, and the introduction of fire-arms. It having been found necessary, on many occasions, to embark a number of soldiers on board our ships of war, and mere landsmen being at first extremely unhealthy, and for some time, until they had been accustomed to the sea, in a great measure unserviceable, it was judged expedient to appoint certain regiments for that service, who were trained to the different modes of sea-fighting, and also made useful in some of those manœuvres of a ship, where a great number of hands were required; these, from the nature of their duty, were to be distinguished by the appellation of maritime soldiers, and were therefore called *marines*. The precise time when this institution first took place, is, like many other pieces of military history, involved, in obscurity. The oldest corps of this kind stands the third regiment of infantry in the list of the army for the year 1684: it there appears under the description of "the Lord High Admiral of England, his Royal Highness the Duke of York and Albany's maritime regiment of foot, commanded by the Hon. Sir Charles Littleton, called also the *admiral regiment*." It then consisted of twelve companies, without grenadiers; the men were clothed in yellow coats, lined with red; their colours were a red cross, with rays of
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the sun issuing from each of its angles. This was not the present third regiment, now distinguished by the name of *the old buffs*; that regiment then stood fourth on the list, and was commanded by John earl of Mulgrave. Probably the admiral regiment was reduced, by which the buffs gained a step in seniority.

In the year 1755 a number of companies of marines were raised, under the direction of the secretary of war: they were afterwards formed into three divisions, and stationed at the towns of Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Chatham; and at each of these places have now convenient barracks. These companies, A. D. 1761, being 130 in number, were, from the time of their establishment, put under the immediate direction of the lords of the admiralty. The marines are clothed and armed in the same manner as his majesty's other corps of infantry; their uniform is scarlet, turned up with white, white linings, waistcoats, and breeches; they also wear caps, like those of the fusileer regiments; this caused them, when serving on shore at the siege of Bellisle, (where they gained great honour,) to be called by the French *les petits grenadiers*.

Cannon were formerly distinguished by many hard and terrifying names, but are now only named from the weight of their ball; as a six-pounder, a twelve-pounder, a twenty-four-pounder, or a forty-two-pounder, which is the largest size now used by the English for battering. Upon the whole, it may be asserted, that cannon is one of the most singular discoveries which have been made amongst men; and, by little and little, it has changed the whole art of war, and of consequence influenced the whole system of policy in Europe. After the introduction of the modern artillery, the Spaniards were the first who armed part of their foot with muskets and harquebusses, and mixed them with the pikes. In this they were soon imitated by most other nations; though the

English had not entirely laid aside their favourite weapon the long-bow, and generally taken to the use of fire-arms, until long after the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The first muskets were called matchlocks; they were very heavy, and could not be fired without a rest. They had barrels of a wide bore, that carried a large ball and a charge of powder, and did execution at a great distance. The musketeers, on a march, carried only their rests and ammunition, and had assistants to bear their muskets after them, for which they were allowed great additional pay. They were very slow in loading, not only by reason of the unwieldiness of the piece, and because they carried the powder and balls separate, but from the time it took to prepare and adjust the match; so that their fire was not near so brisk as ours is now. Afterwards a lighter kind of matchlock-musket came into use; and they carried their ammunition in bandeliers, which were broad belts that came over the shoulder, to which were hung several little cases of wood covered with leather, each containing a charge of powder; the balls they carried loose in a pouch, and they had also a priming-horn hanging by their side. Matchlocks were, about the beginning of this century, universally disused in Europe, and the troops were armed with firelocks; to which, much about the same time, the bayonet being added, pikes also were laid aside; which latter change, whether it was for the better or not, is a point still in dispute among the best military writers.

The firelock is so called from producing fire of itself, by the action of the flint and steel. The most ancient invention of this sort is the wheel-lock, which we find mentioned in Luigi Collado's Treatise of Artillery, printed at Venice, 1586, as then lately invented in Germany. This sort of lock was used till within these hundred years, especially for pistols and carbines. It was composed of a solid steel wheel, with

with an axis, to which was fastened a chain, which, by being round, it drew up a very strong spring; on pulling the trigger, the spring, acting, whirled the wheel about with great velocity, and the friction of the edge of it (which was a little notched) against the stone, produced the fire; the cock was made so as to bring the stone upon the edge of the wheel, part of which was in the pan, and touched the priming; they used any common hard pebble for that purpose, which served as well as flint. These locks were inconvenient, took time to wind up, (or span, as they termed it,) and sometimes would not go off; as may be seen in Ludlow's Memoirs. When the firelock was invented, is not ascertained; it is called, by writers of about the middle of the 17th century, a *snaphane*, or *snaphance*, which, being the Dutch word for a *firelock*, seems to indicate, that it is a Dutch invention, and that we took it from them. The more modern writers call it a *fusée*, from the French word *fusil*; whence the name of fusileers is still continued to several of our regiments which were the first that were armed with them, on the disuse of matchlocks.

The change introduced in the military art by the modern artillery, Dr. Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, observes, has enhanced greatly both the expence of exercising and disciplining any particular number of soldiers in time of peace, and that of employing them in time of war. Both their arms and their ammunition are become more expensive. A musket is a more expensive machine than a javelin or a bow and arrows; a cannon or a mortar than a balista or a catapulta. The powder which is spent in a modern review is lost irrecoverably, and occasions a very considerable expence. The javelins and arrows which were thrown or shot in an ancient one, could easily be picked up again, and were, besides of very little value. The cannon and the mortar are not only much dearer, but much heavier machines than

the balista or catapulta, and require a greater expence, not only to prepare them for the field, but to carry them to it. As the superiority of the modern artillery too over that of the ancients is very great, it has become much more difficult, and consequently much more expensive, to fortify a town so as to resist, even for a few weeks, the attack of that superior artillery. In modern war, the great expence of fire-arms gives an evident advantage to the nation which can best afford that expence; and, consequently, to an opulent and civilized, over a poor and barbarous, nation. In ancient times, the opulent and civilized found it difficult to defend themselves against the poor and barbarous nations. In modern times, the poor and barbarous find it difficult to defend themselves against the opulent and civilized. The invention of fire-arms, an invention which, at first sight, appears to be so pernicious, is certainly favourable both to the permanency and to the extension of civilization. It furnishes the defeated party with various means of retreating with considerable safety. The sphere of military action is so widely extended in modern times, that, before the victors can run over the space which separates them from the vanquished, the latter may fall back, and proceed with little loss beyond their reach; and should any village, hedge, ravine, &c. be found in their way, may often check the ardour of the pursuers. Upon these considerations, the invention of modern artillery may be said to have saved the effusion of blood.

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